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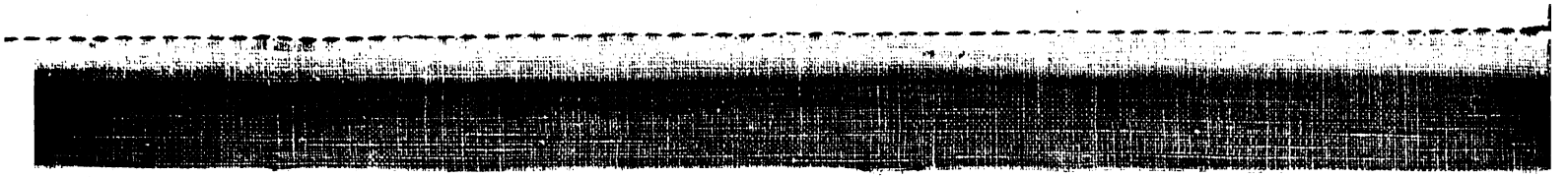

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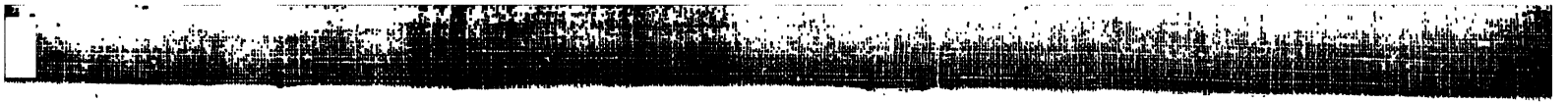

MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS

ON

RELIGIOUS, POLITICAL,

AND

AGRICULTURAL SUBJECTS:

IN TWO VOLUMES.

By RICHARD WATSON, D.D. F.R.S.
LORD BISHOP OF LANDAFF.

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A

LETTER

TO

THE MEMBERS OF
THE HONOURABLE HOUSE OF COMMONS;

RESPECTING THE

PETITION FOR RELIEF IN THE MATTER OF SUBSCRIPTION.

BY A CHRISTIAN WHIG.

THIRD EDITION.

FIRST PUBLISHED IN

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A

LETTER,

&c.

YOU will the more readily excuse this intrusion, when you are assured that it proceeds not from any professional prejudice, any prospect (near or remote) of private emolument, any idle ambition of entering the lists, and breaking a lance with the champions for or against the Articles of our religion; but from a principle, which soberly and strenuously respects the civil and religious liberties of mankind, and which condemns alike an injudicious zeal, a timid neutrality, and a philosophic *nonchalance*, in every question which relates to the support of either.

Such a question, you need not be informed, will soon be agitated in a place, where the constitution of your country has annexed a peculiar and an equal consequence to the opinion of each individual. Your single voice may tend, upon the present occasion, to the utter subversion of our ecclesiastical establishment; or it may tend to the further reformation of our church, to the thorough purging it from the remaining dregs and pollutions of Popery, to the final abolition of spiritual tyranny.

Having no connexions with the petitioning Clergy—I speak not this out of disrespect to them, or disapprobation of their design, though I do not wholly approve the manner of conducting it—nor either leisure or inclination to read what has been written upon the subject of their Petition, by their friends or their enemies; you need not fear, lest I should weary out your patience, by entering too deeply into the discussion of the question. Learned men often involve clear matters

in

in obscurity, and by tedious disquisitions render that which when briefly stated would be obvious to common sense, intricate and of difficult apprehension. This is remarkably the case in the present inquiry: the chiefs of each party have enlisted so many great names under their several banners, have so fortified their respective opinions by correspondent authorities, erected so many formidable redoubts for their defence, under the denominations of charges, pleas, inquiries, vindications, &c. that he must be a bold man indeed, who would venture to force the intrenchments of either side, in pursuit of truth. I am possessed of no such fortitude; nor you probably of a disposition to follow me, if I led the way.

The whole, as appears to me, of what can be alleged upon the present subject, resolves itself into the decision of two plain questions, which will probably become the principal points of parliamentary debate; and upon each of which I will trouble you with a few reflections; which

have this at least to recommend them, that they are the sentiments of an heart not conscious to itself of prepossession against the established Church, but which at the same time disdains the servile duplicity of professing an insincere approbation of every thing appertaining to it's worship and doctrine.

The first question which seems to require your attention is,—Whether the subscription of our Clergy to articles of faith, be necessary for the maintenance of our established Church?—Supposing this to be determined in the affirmative, another no less interesting presents itself, Do the present Articles of religion want a revisal?

You perceive, Sir, that it is no question with me, Whether an established Church be useful to the State; the ends of civil government can scarcely be attained without it: Nor have I any doubt in preferring our present mode of church-government by Prelatical jurisdiction, to every other. But the question is, Whether the

the Establishment may not be supported, without requiring from the public teachers of Christianity, a subscription to human articles of faith.

Some religious opinions are intimately connected with the safety of the civil constitution, as influencing the political conduct of individuals; others more distantly, as influencing their moral conduct. Both these, however, may be included under the general appellation of practical religious opinions; in contra-distinction to such as are merely speculative, and which may be received or rejected by individuals, without affecting the interests of civil society in any manner. The magistrate seems to have a perfect right of requiring from those whom he constitutes public teachers of the people, a confession of their belief with respect to practical religious opinions; because he is under a perfect obligation of consulting for the good of the State, by the encouragement of virtue. But with respect to speculative religious

opinions, his interposition seems to be wholly unserviceable; and is therefore unreasonable.—A few instances will explain my meaning.

No civil society can tolerate public teachers of Atheism; because a general belief that there was no God, would relax the sinews of government, and utterly annihilate the great security of life and property resulting in the administration of justice, from the sanction of an oath.

No civil society of Protestants can tolerate a clergy professing belief in the doctrines of the Church of Rome, respecting the supremacy of the pope; because a general belief of the authority of the See of Rome to excommunicate or depose the civil magistrate, or to absolve the subjects from their allegiance to him, would in fact be a dissolution of the civil society itself.

No civil society of Christians can tolerate a clergy professing Deism; because a general disbelief of revealed religion, would deprive the State of it's strongest barrier against vice, the hold it has from religion

religion upon the consciences of all it's members, whereby many immoralities, which elude the influence of human ordinances, are stifled in their birth.

No civil society of freemen can tolerate a clergy professing belief in the doctrines of passive obedience and divine right; because a general belief of the absolute criminality of resistance in extreme cases, tends to the introduction of tyranny, and is subversive of the natural and unalienable rights of mankind.

No civil society of any kind can tolerate a clergy preaching immorality; because a general belief, that adultery, theft, murder, and such like enormities, were allowable, would propagate such a depravity of manners, as must finally tend to the destruction of every individual in it.

These instances will serve to show, what may be understood by practical religious opinions: and there can be no doubt of the disposition of every public teacher in the kingdom, to give any security the magistrate may think proper to demand for

for his conduct with respect to these and other particulars of the like import.

But besides these, there are other religious opinions which have no relation at all to the political principles, no manner of influence over the moral conduct of individuals, or so very distant an one as not to require the exertion of the magistrate's *veto*, to repress their promulgation: and it is concerning these that the present dispute has arisen.

Such are the speculative doctrines of Christianity, concerning the antecedent state of Jesus Christ; the nature and end of a vicarious sacrifice; the intermediate state of the soul; the mode of our resurrection; and a thousand others: many of which being above the apprehension of the most enlightened understandings, and, as such, not necessary for our salvation, have been subjects of useless dispute, and unchristian division in the church of Christ, from the Apostolic age to our own.—I call these *speculative opinions*; because the two great foundations of Christianity,

Christianity, that Jesus Christ was the Messiah, and that He rose from the dead, (upon which all our hopes, as Christians, are founded; by which hopes all our actions, as men, are determined) stand firmly established, in whatever manner these and questions such as these may be decided, or whether they can be decided, or not. —Will any one think himself absolved from obedience to the Gospel terms of salvation; because learned men have entertained different opinions concerning the person of Christ? Whether he be equal to, or inferior to the eternal God; whether the worlds were made by Him; or he had no pre-existent state; becomes not sober men too peremptorily to determine either way: But if any one thinks otherwise, let him determine for himself; let him embrace which opinion seems to him most probable. Yet certain and undoubted will he find it, that the commission which Jesus Christ executed upon earth, was sealed with the finger of God himself, and that all power, authority, and dominion is

now committed unto him in heaven and in earth: from hence is derived all that we are concerned to know, our obligation to obedience.—Will any one abjure the religion, or with wanton mockery repudiate the sacrifice and intercession of Christ; because divines, in explaining the scheme of redemption, have fallen into contradictory suppositions?—Will any one doubt concerning his own resurrection from the dead; because he doubts concerning an intermediate state;—because curious men have in all ages foolishly enquired, "How are the dead raised, and with what body do they come?" And if in these fundamentals of our faith, a diversity of opinion may be consistent with a similarity of manners; if men of different persuasions may be equally stimulated to the practice of Christian virtues; Why should the magistrate be anxious about introducing an uniformity of belief?

Where a doctrine is doubtfully declared, an uniformity of belief is, in the nature of things,

things, impossible to be obtained; and where a doctrine is clearly revealed, the requisition of a subscription to it's truth is nugatory. To illustrate this:—Whoever professes to believe the canonical books of the New Testament, virtually professes to believe, that Jesus Christ did not come into this world according to the ordinary course of nature; that he voluntarily sealed his mission with his blood; that he did not, like the rest of mankind, continue subject to death, but became the first-fruits of the resurrection.—These and other fundamental principles of Christianity, are so fully and explicitly revealed, that he who admits the truth and genuineness of the books of the New Testament, cannot with any colour of reason be supposed to doubt of them. But concerning the mode of union of the divine and human nature in Jesus Christ; concerning the satisfaction made to vindictive justice by his death; concerning the nature of that original sin, which He came to do away; concerning the eternal decrees of God respecting

respecting the election or reprobation of particular persons or nations; concerning these and other recondite doctrines of Christianity, whatever uniformity there may be of outward profession, there can be none of inward belief. It might as reasonably be expected, that men of different statures should, from the same elevation, take in prospects of equal extent, as that men of different intellectual capacities should, from the same means of information, the same Canon of Scripture, in points removed from their clear apprehension, believe precisely alike. If therefore an uniformity of opinion be, in all doubtful points, unattainable; and in all others, unavoidable; there seems to be no utility in the requisition of subscription, in any case.

But, without a subscription to established articles of faith, how can the different sectaries be excluded?—From what would you have them excluded? Not, surely, from the emoluments of the church, if they are willing to perform the duties

duties of the ministry;—that would betray an illiberal and selfish regard. Not, surely, from the community of public worship, if they are willing to receive our rites;—that would savour of pharisaical pride, and unchristian prejudice. Why such an universal abhorrence of sectaries? Does the name of a Presbyterian, imply an immoral man, a pestilent citizen, or a disloyal subject? Prove that; and I will abhor him too.—What if our Universities, by the removal of subscription, should become fuller; and the dissenting academies be less frequented? What if there should be more labourers brought into the vineyard of Christ? Are not those whose lot it is to bear the heat and burthen of the day, to do the chief work of the ministry, greatly wanted in every Diocese in the kingdom? Nay, what if the higher dignities of the church should be exposed to the pretensions of a greater number of learned men; how would either learning or religion be injured by the competition? —I would not be misunderstood, as if

I suspected

I suspected that selfish considerations, slavish fears lest the beneficial emoluments of the church should be reft from them, induced any members of the Church of England to oppose the Petition. Such insinuations indeed have been frequently thrown out; but always illiberally, uncandidly; and, I firmly believe, untruly. No—The apprehensions of the wisest and best amongst the Clergy upon this occasion, have no respect to self; they are altogether of a public nature, and grounded upon a maxim, which has been sanctified by the experience of ages—That all innovations are dangerous. True; they are not only dangerous to, but in their full extent destructive of, the Establishments they are designed to amend. It was the innovating spirit of Christ and his Apostles, which overthrew the Jewish polity, demolished the altars of Paganism, and turned the world upside down. It was the innovating spirit of our Ancestors, which extorted *Magna Charta* from king John, plucked the triple crown from the head of the pope,

and

and wrested an arbitrary sceptre from the hands of a Stuart. The innovations introduced into our religious Establishment at the Reformation, and into our civil Constitution at the Revolution, were great and glorious, for those times: but some further innovations are yet wanting (would to God they may be quietly made!) to bring them both to perfection. There is always more of caution than prudence, more of timidity than fortitude, in the maxim itself: in the case before us, however, the operation of it's influence need not be dreaded. Would you then have the doors of our churches thrown open; and the crude conceptions of every crazy enthusiast substituted in the room of the rational exhortations of our Clergy? Would you have the order of our public worship subverted, and the extemporary incoherent effusions of puling hypocrites take place of the best forms of prayer that ever were composed? No—I am as far from having a wish of that kind as yourself. Let the Clergy be bound, as they are at present, to the constant use of

an established Liturgy, by the strongest ties of parliamentary authority; and by a much stronger authority than that of Parliament, even by the hopes of their eternal salvation (surely no small pledge to the State for their good conduct!) they will ever remain bound, subscribers or not subscribers, to teach nothing but what they think agreeable to the Word of God, as contained in the Old and New Testament. No door can be opened for Papists; the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy will exclude them: No admission for Sectaries, unless they receive an established Liturgy, submit to an established Episcopacy. When to these considerations we add the caution and care used by the Bishops, in ordaining none but persons of approved morals, and competent learning, I cannot think that the Established Church will be in the least danger. Every thing will go on quietly and uniformly in the old channel: the alteration in the Constitution will be unfelt. We shall have the same stated Forms of Prayer, the same Administration

of Sacraments, the same Rites and Ceremonies in every part of our Public Worship; and, was trifling in so serious a matter allowable, I should say, that it is odds but we have the same Sermons too. However, if during the first fervours attending religious emancipation, a new composition or two should happen to be made, the Laity will have no great reason to regret the alteration. The doctrines of our Articles no longer influence any part of our Clergy, either in their belief or their composition, farther than as each individual finds them conformable to his own interpretation of Scripture. Many look upon them as obsolete, and the subscription to them as a matter of form; and the Methodists are the only disputants, who in controversy quote the Articles in their defence.

But erroneous doctrines will dishonour —whom? but their promulgator?—will destroy—what? but that infallibility of the Church, to which as men we cannot submit, to which as Protestants we cannot

put in our claim?—But licentious precepts from the pulpit, will disseminate a contempt for religion, propagate a profligacy of manners amongst the people.—And are you serious in the charge? Do you really apprehend, that the Clergy of England will stain their lives with the filth of Methodism, contaminate their functions with the pollutions of Moravianism? Are you honestly afraid lest they should preach up the Seven Paradises of Mahomet, or recommend the lawless carnality of the Antinomians?—In taking from them their Articles of Religion, do you take from them their character, as gentlemen; their integrity, as members of society; their hopes, as Christians; and their sense, as scholars?—But we shall be overrun with Arianism, Socinianism, Arminianism.—And who told you, that an Arian, a Socinian, or an Arminian, from principle, shall not be saved as well as you? Are the gates of heaven open only to us, the Athanasians and the Calvinists of the age? Is yours the only intelligible interpretation

pretation of Scripture; yours the only saving faith?—Away with such learned arrogance, such uncharitable judgment! They are a disgrace to humanity, and a dishonour to any religion.—The question will not be at the last day, Are you of the Church of Jerusalem or of Antioch, of Rome or England? Are you a doctor of the Sorbonne or of Oxford, a friend to the Remonstrants or the Synod of Dort?—Not, what articles, confessions, formularies, have you subscribed?—But, What hungry have you fed? What naked have you clothed? What sick have you visited? What souls have you saved?—Not, what barren metaphysical creeds have you repeated?—But, What fruits of your faith have you brought forth?

It is much easier, in truth, to stickle for a definite interpretation of an indefinite text; to shore up, by orthodox labour, some tottering buttress of a crazy church-edifice; to harangue in councils, diets, synods, consistories and convocations, in defence of particular establishments; to

anathematize those who dislike our spiritual cookery; and to burn heretics: All this is much easier to be done, than to become a Christian. It is much easier too to be querulous, discontented, turbulent, because our bold exactions are not granted in our own time and manner; to calumniate the highest characters in the church, because they do not lend a greedy ear to petulant demands, and undigested schemes of reformation; to stigmatize the Bench in particular, and the Clergy in general, as slothful, selfish, ignorant, hypocritical, political, knavish, because they do not fathom the depths of divine wisdom, with our line and plummet;—to represent the Established Church as earthly, popish, idolatrous, pagan, because the piety of it's Founders has decided, in a doubtful point or two, contrary to our mode of apprehension: All this is much easier to be done than to become a Christian. Well may it be said of both of us, *Nemo vobis credat, nemo nobis; omnes contentiosi sumus.*

Like

Like the pharisaical sect of old, every Christian church has tithed it's mint, it's anise, and it's cummin, by introducing the observance of some wretched ordinances, the belief of some dark, speculative, unfruitful doctrines, as succedaneums for mercy, for piety, and for justice. Every sect, however low and contemptible in it's beginning, has by degrees been inspired more or less with a spirit of *procrustizing*, of lopping and stretching, of screwing and wrenching the intellects of individuals, till they nicely tallied with their particular standard of faith and discipline. No doctrines so obscure, but what in some diet or council have been subtilized and sublimed, by scholastic sophistry, into hallowed mysteries; none so unedifying and indifferent, but what the over-weening wisdom of some intolerant enthusiast has imposed as *credenda*, necessary to eternal salvation; none so absurd, (I had almost said, so impious) but what, as Cicero affirmed of philosophical tenets, have had their patrons.

But I detain you too long upon the first point: the issue, in short, is this—The doctrines of the Christian religion, cannot be made clearer by human confessions, or articles of faith. If they are obscurely declared, they are not necessary to be believed, and must remain obscure for ever. There is no authority under Heaven, which can add to, or diminish aught from them, so as to render them more intelligible—To demand a full undoubted assent to propositions doubtful and obscure, is to tyrannize over the understandings of men. An uniformity of opinion in the fundamentals of faith, has prevailed in all ages and in all countries. In other points, it is, from the nature of our intellectual faculties (which, like the bodies of men, are of different complexions, shapes and sizes) impossible to be attained: The requisition of it, is absurd; and wherever it has been required, it has produced nothing but casuistical quibblings, miserable qualifyings of grammatical senses, jesuitical prevarication, and hypocritical subscription. A conformity

formity to the use of an established Liturgy, will be a sufficient security for the uniformity of public worship, for the peaceful and perpetual continuation of the present Church establishment. Nor will the abolition of articles make any sensible change in doctrines: We shall have the same Clergy, and they will be under the same obligation to preach the truth in Christ. Wo be to them, if at present, through any fear of ecclesiastical censures, through any hope of ecclesiastical dignities, through any desire of pleasing men, they preach not the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, according to the abilities of apprehending it which God has vouchsafed, not to their church as a collective body, but to themselves as individuals, as constituted dispensers of the Oracles of God!

With respect to the second question—"Do the Articles of the Church of England want a revisal?"—Undoubtedly. In speaking thus explicitly, I cannot be supposed to deliver any thing but my private opinion, and that subject to the correction

of

of wiser heads and future information; but it is my opinion at present.

I have broke in too much upon your leisure already, to think of troubling you, Sir, with the history of our Articles, or with any theological distinctions upon the several points of doctrine which are thought most exceptionable; especially as a more general kind of argument will be sufficient to persuade you that a revisal cannot be improper.

What should you think of a Comment annexed, about two hundred years ago, by a learned man or two, to particular passages of a book printed from the worst manuscripts, written in a strange language, and in a style wholly different from that which prevails in Europe, containing in every page references to ancient history, allusions to the religious rites, to the customs and manners, of a particular people? You would not, I am convinced, suppose, that this comment could receive no amendment from emendations of the text itself, no illustration from a more intimate acquaintance with the style of the

the original, no lights from the labour of learning employed for above two centuries in studying the history of this people, nor from the observations of travellers upon their manners. And when you were further told, that the contents of this book had for many ages been gutted and garbled by a crafty priesthood, in support of the idolatrous superstitions and astonishing corruptions of a particular church; and that these commentators, though not under the immediate apprehension of being cast into the fiery furnace, if they did not fall down and worship the image which this church had set up, yet had their minds enslaved by a sanctimonious reverence for the idol of their ancestors; you would think a review of what they had written still more expedient.

It would be just as reasonable to reduce our Universities to their first principles, to the reading of lectures upon the problems of Aristotle, the metaphysics of Plato, and the astronomical system of Ptolemy; as to continue the obligation upon our Clergy, to conform to the scriptural

tural systems of Cranmer and Ridley. The public tutors and instructors of your youth are as strongly bound by the statutes of the Universities, to the explaining a certain definite set of ancient authors, as your Clergy are by the statutes of the realm, or royal declarations, to preach nothing repugnant to the doctrines prescribed by a certain set of ancient Articles. But the wisdom of the first (without waiting for a formal repeal of their statutes) respecting the end of their institution, rather than the means improvidently fixed some centuries ago for the attainment of it, have judiciously accommodated their mode of education to the variable exigencies of the times, to the improvements which have been daily made in arts and sciences. One would imagine, that the makers of statutes in the one case, and the composers of articles in the other, thought that human nature was exalted to the highest degree of intellectual perfection in their times, and that they themselves were the most learned of their age. It must be allowed

at

at least, either that they had no foresight of the improvements which have been made in every branch of knowledge, or that in forming positive laws they were at a loss how to provide for contingencies; presuming, no doubt, that their posterity would think themselves at liberty to abrogate their acts, and to new-model their constitutions, when a change of circumstances should render a deviation from them necessary.

Without any disparagement to the goodness either of the heads or hearts of the reforming Bishops in the reigns of Edward and Elizabeth, it may surely be affirmed, that we have Bishops at present upon the bench, equal to them in integrity and sanctity of manners; and from the circumstance alone, of living in a more enlightened age, though we allow nothing on the score of genius, far their superiors in religious knowledge, and learning of all kinds. Why should we hesitate to entrust this matter to their care? They have not in the present struggle been respectfully treated. It has injuriously been

been taken for granted, that no blessings could come from the Bench, no reformation from the Prelacy, no good out of Galilee. I cannot be of this persuasion; and think there are at least as evident indications of prepossession against the higher orders of the church, in some of the Advocates for a reformation; as of secular attachment to system, and bigotry of profession, in those they most accuse. I have the strongest expectation, that if the Petition is referred to them, they will have no disposition to stifle it.

They are neither so indolent, nor ignorant, nor interested, as their enemies represent them; they will, without doubt, candidly and liberally unite their endeavours, to relieve their Brethren and themselves. Not, perhaps, in the precise manner, and to the full extent of the wishes of some individuals; but in such a manner, and to such an extent, as ought perhaps to content every man who is not possessed with the persecuting frenzy, of erecting his own opinion into an unerring standard of expediency and truth.

There

There are many good and sensible men among the Clergy of England, whose honest apprehensions for the safety of the church, the interests of religion, and the quiet of the state, will not suffer them to wish for a total abolition of all Articles of religion. Without being, I believe, less zealous in my regard for these blessings than themselves; but from seeing things in a different, I do not say a better, point of view; I am of a contrary opinion. Yet am not I so blindly partial to my own private judgment, as to think it infallible; nor in the least disposed to accuse those who dissent from me, of selfish dissimulation or unpardonable prejudice. Nay, if even a review of our Articles should, after a candid examination, be thought unnecessary or impracticable; I cannot but esteem it the duty of every private citizen, not to change his opinions; for opinions are not subject to change from authority, but reason;—but in all quietness and godly fear, without murmuring and without repining, to submit to the determination of those who have the dominion over him.

him. For my own part, I shall think it sufficient *for the present*, to have borne this full conscientious testimony to what seems to me to be the truth. If you should be curious to know who it is, that has given you and himself this trouble—know him for a warm friend to the Church of England, but for a warmer friend to the Church of Christ; for one, who earnestly contends for the orthodox faith, but who acknowledges *no criterion of orthodoxy, but Scripture*; for one, who cordially wishes to see a reformation in our Religious Establishment take place; but for one too, who cannot think it worth contending for, if the attempt be likely to produce any disorders in the civil constitution, if it will tend to the spilling one drop of Christian blood, to the extinguishing one spark of Christian charity amongst us.

These are his sentiments; and to whatever party he may become obnoxious thereby, conformable to his sentiments will be his practice. I do not, however, so far forget myself, as to wish to prescribe a rule of behaviour or opinion, to you or any

any man; just permit me to express my hopes that the Petition, being a very serious thing, may be very seriously treated by your House. It has no respect to political parties; but simply prays for what none, but a very *Cappadocian* in disposition can reject, if offered—liberty of conscience, not licentiousness of conduct.

If it should appear to you, that the Petitioners have any further views, any latent expectation of undermining our constitution in church or state, of introducing presbytery for prelacy, anarchy for monarchy; you cannot be too much upon your guard against them. But I know not what they have done, which renders them justly liable to such a suspicion. Nothing so easy as to misrepresent the best designs, as to fasten upon innovators a popular odium, by attributing to them plans which they never formed, by foreseeing consequences which will never follow.

In the sad charge of hypocrisy constantly and virulently brought against those, who for bread are thought to subscribe what they do not believe, your

withers, Sir, probably are unwrung; your shoulders will never probably be galled by the yoke of subscription; but as a Christian, you must have compassion for those honest citizens, who feel themselves daily sweating under it's abhorred weight; as an Englishman, you must detest tyranny over the religious opinions, as much as ('tis to be hoped) you do over the civil actions of mankind; as a Statesman, you will remember, That lenient embrocations mitigate the throbbings of a green wound; which, irritated by neglect, festers quickly, and inflames the adjoining parts, infects the whole system with a fever, always producing paroxysms dangerous to the constitution, and often terminating in tremours, convulsions, and death.

I have the honour to be, &c.

A CHRISTIAN WHIG.

A

SECOND LETTER

TO

THE MEMBERS OF

THE HONOURABLE HOUSE OF COMMONS;

RELATING TO THE

SUBSCRIPTION

REQUIRED OF GRADUATES IN THE UNIVERSITIES.

BY A CHRISTIAN WHIG.

1772.

A PERSON

WHO IS

AN ENTIRE STRANGER

TO

SIR GEORGE SAVILE,

INSCRIBES THIS TRACT

TO

HIS CHARACTER.

A

SECOND LETTER,

&c.

AMONG the multiplicity of Tracts which have been published for and against the Clerical Petition, I had no expectation, that *The Christian Whig* would have been distinguished by *a second edition.* It too freely and manifestly militates against the prejudices of both parties, to be well received by either. However, as a respect for truth, and a total indifference as to the pleasing or displeasing of parties, induced the Author to throw it into the world; the same principles make him embrace with pleasure this opportunity of appealing once more to the good sense of the Members of the House of Commons, upon a subject not indeed connected with, yet greatly analogous to,

the Petition of the Clergy; and which, it is said, will speedily be submitted to their decision. I speak of the question which has been lately agitated in the University of Cambridge, relative to the abolition of a subscription, which all persons are required to make, before they can be admitted to any degree in that University. Without doubt, her Sister Oxford is shackled by the same fetters, and pants for the same freedom: But as I take my ideas from what has been lately published upon the subject, I will confine my observations to Cambridge.—James I. in the year 1613, sent letters to that University, requiring them not to confer the degree of bachelor of divinity, or of doctor in any faculty, upon any person whatsoever, before he had subscribed to the three Articles contained in the 36th Canon. The then senate of the University passed a grace, beginning with this preamble, "*Placeat vobis, ut juxta tenorem* "*literarum a Serenissimo Rege missarum,* "*hoc in Senatu decernatur,*" &c. and enjoining

enjoining a subscription to the three Articles contained in the 36th Canon, as an indispensable mean towards obtaining either of the forementioned degrees.—About three years after, when the King was at Newmarket, he condescended in person, and afterwards by letter, to signify his pleasure to the Vice-chancellor and heads of houses, that he would have all who take any degree in schools, subscribe to the three Articles.—These, I believe, are the foundations upon which the right of requiring subscription is built.—The character of James you are no stranger to. You cannot be surprised at this instance of his pedantry, this injudicious exertion of his prerogative; nor can you candidly censure the then senate of the University for their supine submission to his authority: the Houses of Parliament would not have been less complaisant. The limits of the prerogative were not then so circumstantially defined, nor the rights of individuals and corporations so explicitly declared, as at present.—It has lately,

I understand, become a question, whether the University has a power inherent in it's constitution, of abolishing the subscription imposed by James? I cannot divine what the law may determine in this point; but common sense seems to inform me, that the present senate of the University of Cambridge has as incontrovertible a right of repealing a grace, passed by the senate of the University in the time of James the First, as the present legislature of the kingdom has of annulling an act of parliament enacted by any former legislature. If a grace acquires strength, becomes stubborn by time, and will not bend to the power which made it; why does an act of parliament continue so flexible? The University, it is agreed, can never have a right to infringe or rescind any one of their original statutes; because their statutes derive their spirit and strength from an authority prior to the existence and independent of the will of the University. But under this limitation, the corporate body seems to have an absolute

power

power of acting *pro re natâ*, of altering, amending, abrogating any or all of the ordinances superinduced on their original establishment by preceding corporate acts. Without this power, every temporary institution would become perpetual, would operate with destructive vigour, when the reasons for it's first introduction no longer existed. If any one should be disposed to object, that the obligation to subscription arises from the authority of the king's letters, and not from the grace of the senate; he would run full upon the horns of a dilemma. Either the king's letters (supposing them to exist) derive their authority from the grace of the senate, or they have an authority independent of that grace. If they have an authority independent of the grace; what is the import of a "*Placeat vobis, ut hoc decernatur?*" If the grace gives energy to the letters; then may the whole of that energy be revoked by the same authority which gave it. But I beg your pardon, for descending to the sophisms of Dialectics:

the

the nice distinctions and refined subtleties of argument, should ever be reserved for the courts of Westminster, and the schools of the University. The House of Commons will take up the subject, upon a different ground. It will be no concern of the legislature, whether the Universities have, or have not, the power to make the alteration; but, whether the alteration itself be wanted.

I have no intention to affront you, Sir, in supposing you unacquainted with the Articles in question. Your ignorance of ecclesiastical canons is excusable. Suffer me to take the liberty of hinting to you the substance of those three Articles, to which all persons, designing to become graduates, are required willingly and *ex animo* to subscribe.

The First relates to the King's supremacy.—No one but a Papist will refuse his assent to that.

The Second affirms, that the Book of Common Prayer, and of ordering of bishops, priests and deacons, contains in it

it nothing contrary to the Word of God.—So far lay-subscribers are affected; for laymen (thanks to the Reformation!) are permitted to read their Bibles.—And farther, it requires the subscriber himself to use the form in the said book prescribed, in public prayer and administration of the sacraments.—This touches the Clergy in particular; and but slightly: for he lacks the modesty becoming an individual, who, after assenting to the former part of this Article, quarrels with the latter, because it may chance that a few ceremonies, in their own nature indifferent, and of no moral tendency, are not adapted to his particular fancy.

The Third Article requires the candidates for degrees, to acknowledge all and every of the Thirty-nine Articles agreed upon by the Archbishops, &c. in the year 1562, to be agreeable to the Word of God.

If you are a graduate, Sir, you have subscribed these Articles: yet may not this information concerning the substance of them be impertinent, even to you. It may be,

be, that you looked upon subscription, as one of the ceremonies necessary for your admission to your degree; it may be, that you subscribed to you knew not what, with filial reverence, fairly presuming that your *Alma Mater* could have no propensity to take advantage of your youth, by making an improper requisition. I can hope as piously as any body, that no one ever gave his assent to what he had never read, perhaps never heard of; but I appeal at once to the heart of every graduate in the House of Commons, for the truth of my conjecture, and rest the matter upon that issue. Without doubt, you are beginning to accuse the tutors and professors, of a very culpable negligence, in not explaining to the under-graduates, the Liturgy and Articles of the Church of England, before they take their first degree in arts.—But stop a moment. Be not overhasty in censuring men of integrity and ability, who preside over the education of the British youth. Tell me, Would not you think your son's time much mis-

misemployed, in attending to lectures upon such abstruse subjects, at so early a time of life? Would you choose to receive him from the University, armed with the artillery of a pedantic theologue; or furnished with that general kind of knowledge, which fits him for every profession, and adorns the character of a gentleman? But I will not offend you, by expatiating upon this subject. I know your sentiments: your heart recoils with indignation, at the thoughts of having the most important years of your son's life frittered away in studies, which have no tendency to make him either an useful member to the community, or an ornament to his family; and which become none but those, who seek for Christianity in the determinations of councils, and who think that religion consists in speculation. And if you would not have the youth of the kingdom occupied in such labours, you cannot wish to have them compelled to such subscriptions. Not that I am of the same opinion with those who esteem a man guilty of a terrible

terrible breach of moral honesty, who professes an assent to Articles which he has not studiously examined. I am aware of the interpretation, which may be put upon this doctrine: But where no injury is done to individuals, where the heart is not corrupted, nor the example of pernicious consequence, where no person is imposed upon, where those before whom the assent is made, and the Legislature for whose benefit it is made, thoroughly understand the quality and degree of the assent which is given, I do not apprehend that any moral turpitude can be laid to the charge of Subscribers. Puffendorf observes, "*in juramentis sensum totius ora-*
"*tionis valere, prout capere se illum profi-*
"*tetur is, qui juramentum defert, seu cui*
"*juratur.*" And he subjoins the reason:
"*hujus enim præcipuè, non jurantis causâ,*
"*juramentum præstatur.*" And it seems to me that this principle is well founded; and may be a great relief, not only to Subscribers to Articles, but to public magistrates, members of corporations and

universities, and all those who, in conforming to an ancient præscript, enter into engagements, by oaths or otherwise, which the change of times makes it impossible for them to perform, and which in fact no individual expects them to perform. It were to be wished, that such obligations were not imposed, whenever the performance is not expected: But I am not inclined to accuse every one of perjury or hypocrisy, as devoid of integrity and honour, whose lot it is to submit to them.

I take my leave with a word or two upon the subject of my former Address—I neither deplore the fate of the Petition, nor exult with illiberal triumph at the decision of your House. My opinion of the Petitioners, and of their cause, is not at all changed by the event of their application: Success would not have made me commend as wisely calculated, the means which they judged conducive to their end; nor will want of it make me condemn the design which they openly and honourably professed. Without pretending

ing to much knowledge of human nature, I had from the first a strong presentiment of what has happened; and without being possessed either of second-sight or much foresight, I foretel that some relief will be granted; that the Bishops, to a man, will think themselves called upon by the circumstances of the times, to forward a Reformation, to revise both the Articles and Liturgy of the Church. They will not, it seems, be invited to this work by the Association at The Feathers; the Petitioners will not solicit the interposition of the Bishops. What then? Must it be supposed, that they will avail themselves of the prejudice of an Association, or of the decision of The House of Commons, as an excuse for not interfering in a matter more peculiarly belonging to their care: Must it be believed, that they permitted an injudicious neglect—put it, a designed affront—to warp their judgments against the truth? The eyes of Laity, and Clergy, of England, and of Europe, are fixed, with impatient expectation, upon the Bench

Bench of Bishops. If there is one Spiritual Lord in the present Parliament, who thinks that no reformation is wanted, who believes that every thing in our Liturgy and Articles is agreeable to the Word of God, and calculated to promote Christian edification amongst the thinking part of the Laity assembled in our churches; let all thoughts of innovation be laid aside, even for that one's sake. Let the Laity still continue to think of religion with disgust, to speak of it with contempt; let them still mistake for the beautiful and unadorned figure of genuine Christianity, a motley monster of bigotry and superstition, a scarecrow of shreds and patches, dressed up of old by philosophers and popes, to amuse the speculative and to affright the ignorant; but which is now become a butt of scorn, against which every unfledged witling of the age essays his wanton efforts, and before he has learned his Catechism, is fixed an infidel for life. This, I am persuaded, is too frequently the case; for I have had too

frequent opportunities to observe it. I have ever heard the scoffs of Unbelievers directed against the trappings of religion, against the meretricious ornaments, by which the collusion of priests, and the insanity of enthusiasts, have polluted the chastity and simplicity of our faith. Give us for our belief, Christianity as delivered in the Word of God: give us for our spiritual edification, an Established Church, in which there is nothing to affront the first suggestions of common sense. Expunge from the Ritual of our worship, the absurd pretensions of the Church of Rome, and thereby spare the blushes of every Minister in our own: let us not be more tenacious of the despondent doctrines of Calvin, than the Church of Geneva itself.

It is not, Sir, for your sake, it is not for my own, that I am thus importunate with the Bishops; thinking men will ever take the liberty of winnowing the chaff from the corn; but it is for the sake of thousands who cannot think; who cannot, through

through the veil of human ordinances, distinguish the beauty of holiness; who, taking some rotten excrescence for the natural fruit of Christianity, spurn with abhorrence the stock upon which it grew. But I mean not to encourage in others, or generate in myself, any suspicion that the Bishops are either unacquainted with this evil, or unwilling to remove it; much less would I be thought so presumptuous as to instruct their Lordships. They will pardon me that I am as anxious as themselves for the honour of the Church of England, of which I am a member; and as solicitous for the purity of that Gospel, on the Truth of which I found all my expectations of another life. Leaving them, however, to their own wisdom, to the opinion which the world justly entertains of their integrity and zeal for the religion of their Master; I conclude, with expressing my satisfaction at the manner in which the Petition was undoubtedly treated by the Honourable House. It's merits were deliberately considered, in-

telligently discussed, impartially determined. Nor could any one expect the contrary: for it cannot be supposed, that the Commons of England, in their collective legislative capacity, would either be blind to truth, afraid of it's consequences, inattentive to the Religion of their country, or influenced by any worldly motives in the decision of a question essentially respecting the interest of Christianity. Considered as individuals, I have the honour to know many, have heard of more, hope there are hundreds in the House, who upon all occasions think for themselves, and are never languid in the cause of liberty. Religious liberty, indeed, was the thing contended for: But he is no Whig in principle, who does not wish to see it prevail universally. It should not be considered, what *profession* of men apply for relief; but, whether their request be reasonable, whether it can be granted with safety to the State.

I have the honour to be, &c.

A CHRISTIAN WHIG.

CONSIDERATIONS

ON THE

EXPEDIENCY OF REVISING

THE LITURGY AND ARTICLES

OF THE

CHURCH OF ENGLAND:

IN WHICH,

Notice is taken of the Objections to that Measure, urged in Two late Pamphlets.

BY

A CONSISTENT PROTESTANT.

Integra nobis est judicandi potestas, neque ut omnia, quæ præscripta et quasi imperata sunt defendamus, necessitate ullâ cogimur. Cic.

With me it is a very small thing that I should be judged of you, or of man's judgment—He that judgeth me is the Lord. St. Paul, Ep. Cor.

1790.

THIRD EDITION.

CONSIDERATIONS,

&c.

THE subject on which I mean to hazard a few thoughts, has lately been brought before the publick by a Layman, it is said, of high rank, in a pamphlet, entitled, "Hints to the new Association." In opposition to the principle of this publication, two pamphlets have recently appeared, one entitled, "A Vindication of the Doctrines and Liturgy of the Church of England;" the other, "An Apology for the Liturgy and Clergy of the Church of England." I flatter myself I should feel no difficulty in making a minute and satisfactory answer to both these pamphlets; but there are some things in both of them, which

which I dare not trust myself with answering circumstantially, lest I should be thereby betrayed into the adoption of petulant and imperious diction, into the use of rude and offensive sentiment: I will endeavour, without referring to them, to reply to every observation of consequence in either of them.

I am happy, in the outset, in knowing that the minds of men in general, and, especially, that the minds of those men who constitute the legislature of this country, are too liberal and enlarged to be startled by that miserable excuse for supineness and inattention to matters of great concernment, by that shallow pretence for not doing that which (for other, but not ostensible, reasons) a man wishes not to be done; by that stale and contemptible cant—The danger of innovation.—The retrenching the privileges of Parliament, was an innovation; the changing the mode of determining contested elections, was an innovation; the freeing dissenting ministers from the

necessity of subscribing to our Articles, was an innovation; the relaxing the laws against Popery, was an innovation—these and other innovations, equally useful to the State, have been made in the reign of GEORGE THE THIRD; and if another innovation, a Review of the Liturgy and Articles of the Church of England—should be added to the number, it would neither bring discredit to the character, nor disturbance to the Government, of the Monarch; both of which are as dear to those who contend for the expediency of the measure, as they can possibly be to those who oppose it.

I am far from thinking, with some, that the multitude, in general, is fond of novelty and innovation. On the contrary, I am persuaded, that the man who attacks ancient establishments of any sort, but especially ancient church establishments, even of the most opprobrious and immoral kind, is much more likely to have the multitude against him than with him. By an inexplicable mechanism, I had almost said,

said, in human nature, every man becomes fond of what he has been used to; the habit of thinking and reasoning on any subject is changed with great difficulty; and the change is seldom attempted to be made, because the very attempt is accompanied with an humiliating and uneasy apprehension of our having been in the wrong. Few men have moderation enough even to examine, with candour and care, opinions subversive of their own—*Plerique* (I quote not Latin for the sake of shewing my learning, but of expressing in elegant language my meaning) *Plerique*, says Cicero, *errare malunt, eamque sententiam quam adamaverunt pugnacissimè defendere, quam sine pertinacia quid constantissimè dicatur exquirere.*

We all know how long it was before *Christianity* triumphed effectually over *Paganism*. The multitude, for many years after the Gospel had been preached amongst them, adhered, in every city of the Roman Empire, to their idols, and, following with blind obedience the admonitions

admonitions of their priests to suffer no innovation, maintained the superstition of their ancestors. At so late a period as in the year 384, when the Emperors too were become Christians, we find the senate of Rome sending a deputation to them at Constantinople, and petitioning for the restoration of the altar of Victory, the lands of the Priests, and the college of the Vestals. *Symmachus*, prefect of Rome, and high priest of Paganism, was at the head of this deputation: he artfully personified *Rome*, and introduced the sacred city, pleading in the petition the cause of Paganism, in a manner wholly similar, in substance, to that in which the enemies of reform of church establishments have addressed themselves to their civil rulers, in every age and country of the world: "O ye best of princes, the "fathers of your country, revere my great "age, to which these rites of religion have "brought me, and let me still follow the "ancient observances. These rites drove "Hannibal from my walls, and the Gauls "from

" from the Capitol. And have I lived so " long to be corrected in old age? Let me " know what this new institution is? Sure " I am, that to reclaim old age is an " unseasonable and dishonourable under- " taking."

We all know how long it was before *Protestantism* effectually triumphed over *Popery*; before the reform of the doctrine and worship of the Church proposed by *Wickliffe* was established in this country. His followers, indeed, were numerous, and amongst them were persons of great eminence in the State; for so absurd were the doctrines, so superstitious the rites of the Established Church, so oppressive the tyranny of the Pope, so great the power, so exorbitant the wealth, and so profligate the manners of the Clergy, that his innovations, which were levelled at the correction of these enormities, were acceptable to persons of all ranks. Yet the bulk of the nation still continued their attachment to the Church Establishment. " Though " Wickliffe and his followers detected many

" of

" of the errors, and exposed many of the " superstitious practices of the church, the " Clergy obstinately refused to abandon " any of those errors or relinquish any of " those superstitions, and persecuted with " unrelenting cruelty all who attempted " the smallest reformation. The declaimers " of the Lollards against the excessive " power and riches, and scandalous lives, " of the Priests, inflamed their rage against " them, and made them reject all their other " opinions without examination; and the " laity in general were still too ignorant, " or too indifferent, to form opinions for " themselves on subjects of that kind."

A thousand other instances might have been produced, in proof of the reluctance with which men admit innovations in the religion to which they have been accustomed; but these may be sufficient, for rendering questionable that opinion which represents the multitude as fond of innovation. They may be sufficient too, if impartially considered, for suggesting a little doubt, for inspiring a little diffidence, into

into the minds of those who, in our days, so zealously and so proudly oppose every step towards a reformation, treating with rancorous bigotry and insolent temerity, those who with modesty and sincerity presume to *hint* it's expediency. We may all think ourselves happy in being born in enlightened times; for which of us can say that, had he lived in the days of Symmachus or of Wickliffe, he would not have concurred with the senate of Rome in petitioning for the continuance of Paganism, or with the Clergy of England in maintaining the establishment of Popery? Rectitude of intention alone will not justify a man's conduct, though *invincible* prejudices may. Strong persuasion, and bold asseveration that nothing is wrong, are but simple modes of proving every thing to be right in a Church. When *Arundel*, archbishop of York, compelled, by the terror of the stake and fagot, the recanting Lollards to swear, "that "they would worship images with praying "and offering unto them, in the worship "of

"of the saints that they be made after," —he had, I question not, rectitude of intention, and strong persuasion that every thing was right in the Church, to plead in excuse for his violence; yet one cannot but wish that his conscience, instead of being erroneous, had been just; nay, even that it had been but so much as scrupulous; that he had hesitated a little, before he made men swear to obey holy church in the worship of images. We have not now any *Arundels* to fear; holy church hath no images to worship. But whether every thing is so right, and ought *to be kept so tight*, in her worship and doctrine, that nothing can be amended, or ought to be attempted, is what no affirmations which I have heard, no arguments which I have hitherto read, have induced me to assent to.

Whatever truth then there may be in the proposition, which asserts, that the multitude is fond of innovation (and I do not deny that there is some truth in it, for we know that the multitude can on some

occasions see what is right) I think that the proposition, which asserts that the Priesthood is averse from reformation, is far more generally true.—Who was it that crucified the Saviour of the world, for attempting to reform the religion of his country? The Jewish priesthood.—Who was it that drowned the altars of their idols with the blood of Christians, for attempting to abolish Paganism? The Pagan priesthood.—Who was it that persecuted to flames and death those who, in the time of Wickliffe and his followers, laboured to reform the errors of Popery? The Popish priesthood.—Who was it, and who is it, that, both in England and Ireland, since the Reformation —— but I check my hand, being unwilling to reflect upon the dead, or to exasperate the living, whom would to God I could conciliate (I say not to any opinion of mine, for that might be construed an arrogant expectation, but) to a charitable temper of mind towards those who differ from them, and to a dispassionate consideration

of

of the subjects concerning which they differ!

But perhaps it will be argued, that the conduct of the several Priesthoods I have mentioned or alluded to, was right; that there is of necessity an alliance between the State and the Church in every country; and that this alliance is of such a nature, as to render it the duty of the ministers of the church to oppose every innovation in the Established Religion, till the State shall think fit to propose it. I am mistaken if a principle of this sort has not gotten possession of the minds of some men, from whom better principles might have been expected; and though it is impossible for this principle to be true, without it's being also true, that it is a man's duty to support every error and impiety which the enthusiasm, the superstition, the vices, or the follies of mankind, have introduced and established in the various religions of the world, yet I will employ a little time in examining the foundation on which it is built.

It

It is not every one who has formed an adequate idea of what is meant by the terms, Established Religion; and I know not whether the meaning I annex to them will be admitted as the proper one: I, however, understand by them—A Religion, the doctrines and rites of which are taught and administered by men, who are paid for their service by the state, or civil magistrate. And by the civil magistrate, I understand a person or persons executing the will of the majority of the members composing any civil society. The fund from which the State pays the Ministers of the Established Religion, may be either a general fund, to which all the members of the community are equally obliged to contribute their share, or it may be a fund belonging exclusively to the State, in which individuals have no property, and towards which they contribute nothing. To the first sort of fund may be referred the general tax which is raised upon the whole community for the maintenance of the Ministers of Religion in different States

both of Europe and America; to the second may be referred tithes. For, though I ground not the claim of the Church Ministers to tithes on any thing but the law of the land, yet I cannot consider tithes as a tax raised on individuals. The Church (I had rather say, the State, for the purpose of maintaining the Church) hath as old and as equitable a title to the tithable property, if I may so express myself, of all the lands subject to the payment of tithes, as the owners of the lands have to the lands themselves. This public fund, of whatever sort it may be, must be absolutely in the disposal of the magistrate; he may either expend it in paying the ministers of one religion, or of more than one; and, according to his determination in this point, one religion, or more than one, will be established by him. We have been so accustomed to see, not only in this country, but in other parts of Europe, the magistrate supporting exclusively one denomination of Christians, and enacting penal laws against all who would

not conform to it, that our prejudices will not readily suffer us to admit, either the practicability or the expediency, perhaps not the innocence, of his supporting more than one. Whether it would be most productive of the public good for the magistrate to pay the teachers of one religion, or of more than one, is a great political question, concerning which men of the deepest judgment will be divided; and, I humbly think, it does not admit a positive decision either way. The different circumstances, under which different societies may be placed at the same time, or the changes that may arise at different times in the same society, may make it a part of political wisdom to adopt a diversity of procedure on this important point. A supposition or two will explain my meaning; and, that I may not give offence by coming too near England or Ireland, I will take the liberty of making France and America the subjects of conjecture.

The French *National Assembly* will be immortalized for the wisdom and the

liberality of their proceedings; and amongst other instances of their magnanimity, meriting the approbation, and calling for the imitation, of other nations, are those resolutions in which they have decreed—That no man is to be molested on account of his religious opinions—and that all citizens shall be equally eligible to public offices.—These are such great encouragements, that the time, I apprehend, will soon arrive, when Protestants of every denomination will become numerous in all the provinces of France, and the mischief attending the revocation of the Edict of Nantz be done away. It is no improbable supposition, that in half a century a majority of the French nation will be Protestants. And who will say, when such an event shall have taken place, that it would not be highly *expedient* for the French government to secure it's prosperity, by shewing an equal attention to all it's subjects; by abandoning all prepossession in favour of one mode of religion, and paying from the public purse not

not only Catholic, but Protestant teachers of Christianity?

That this is a *practicable* system, can scarcely be questioned by those who consider what has happened in America. Long before our disputes with that country, it was enacted in the Assemblies of the provinces of *Massachusett's Bay*, and *Connecticut*, that all members of the Church of England should be exempted from the payment of taxes, for the support of *any* teacher of religion, except one of their own persuasion. In these provinces, then, two religions, or, more properly, two modes of the Protestant religion, were equally established—that of the Independents, of which the main body of the people consisted, and that of the members of the Church of England. But this, it will be urged, proves nothing, inasmuch as the favour granted to the members of the Church of England proceeded probably from the interference of the government of England. Granting this, without inquiring whether it ought

in fact to be granted or not; still the *practicability* of the State's supporting more sects than one is proved. Another observation however may be made, which will shew, not only the practicability, but, after long experience, the expediency of the measure, in the judgment of the people of Massachusett's, when they were no longer subjects of Great Britain. In their Declaration of Rights made in 1780, it is said "All monies paid by the subject "to the support of public worship, and "of the teachers aforesaid, shall, if he "require it, be uniformly applied to the "support of the public teacher or teachers "of his own religious denomination, pro- "vided there be any, on whose instructions "he attends; otherwise, it may be paid "towards the support of the teacher or "teachers of the parish or precinct in "which the said monies are raised. And "every denomination of Christians, de- "meaning themselves peaceably and as "good subjects of the commonwealth, "shall be equally under the protection of

"the

" the law: and no subordination of any " one sect or denomination to another shall " ever be established by law." But this establishing of different sects may be looked upon as a singular experiment, which has not been sufficiently tried (though it has had a long trial in America) as quite a novel attempt in the annals of mankind, and wholly unsuited to any form of government, except a republic. This objection has no validity in any part of it; for the experiment has been tried not only in a republic, but in an absolute monarchy; not only by a new, but by an old, and as some think, by the wisest nation upon earth. " It " might, perhaps (says the Abbé Raynal) " be an advantageous circumstance, if in " all countries, as we are assured it is in " China, the administration were attached " to no doctrine, to no sect, nor to any " particular mode of religious worship."

To what purpose this digression from the subject?—it is no digression whatever from the point in debate. The question is, Whether it be the duty of the teachers

of established religions to see that no innovations be made in them. Now the possibility of different sects being equally established by the magistrate, shews that it is possible, at least, for a teacher of an established religion to be under no such obligation, from the relation in which he stands to the magistrate. The magistrate may think it both practicable and expedient, nay, he may become still more liberal in his political principles, and think it both reasonable and just, to establish different sects of religion; and, if he does this, it will follow as an easy consequence, that he will think the public welfare little concerned, in such changes of doctrines or ceremonies as the several sects shall from time to time be disposed to make in their respective persuasions. The opinion, that the safety of the civil constitution is inseparably connected with the exclusive support of a particular denomination of Christians, being removed—by the establishment which he has given to more denominations than one, he will contemplate with

with tranquillity the introduction, and forward with liberality the discussion, of such sentiments as lead to reform the abuses in practice, or the errors in principle, which may be thought to subsist in any of them. And on the supposition of the magistrate's having established only one religion, as Episcopacy in England, Presbytery in Scotland, Popery in France, I wish it to be considered, Whether it be consistent with his character as a magistrate, much more with his character as a Christian magistrate, to require of his teachers such a rigid adherence to his doctrines, as precludes all possibility of alteration? Can it be thought credible, that the majority of a society of Christians would affect such a dominion over the faith of their fellows, would make such bold and indecent pretensions to infallibility, would be so little conscious of the weakness of human understanding, and so blind to future improvements, as to suppose that no time or circumstance, no increase of learning, no change of manners

and

and sentiments in their posterity, could justify the teachers of the established religion in proposing any deviation from it? Whatever may be the conduct of other countries, I trust that the ruling Powers, both in the State and in the Church of this country, will not only permit the free discussion of theological subjects, but think themselves obliged to all those who, with moderation and good sense, shall attempt to point out what they take to be errors in the doctrine, or failures in the constitution and discipline, of the Church of England. It may be that she has no errors to be corrected, no failures to be reformed; but it is certain, that she cannot be displeased with those who in godly sincerity inquire into these points, without abandoning the principle which actuated her first reformers, and liberated our forefathers and ourselves from the tyranny of the Church of Rome.

There have been *Statesmen*, who considered an established church as a mere instrument of government, ten thousand men

men in black coats to be as serviceable to the State as the same number in red coats, and who regarded the form of doctrine of the one with as much indifference as the form of discipline in the other, requiring an exact obedience from both. There have been *Churchmen*, who considered the connexion between the kingdom of Christ and the kingdom of this world to be so strong, that they thought it their indispensable duty to defend and extend the kingdom of Christ by those spiritual arms, and by those only, which were put into their hands by the state in which they lived. Men with these principles must always be averse from reformation. The Statesman, be he a Pagan or a Mahometan, a Catholic or a Protestant, an Episcopalian or a Dissenter, may think all religions equally efficacious in answering the end for which he protects any, and find in himself little inducement to encourage promoters of innovation, lest they should disturb the tranquillity of the government, and, as was said of the Apostles, turn the world upside

upside down; and the Churchman, knowing it to be his interest, and perhaps believing it to be his duty, may do his utmost to support that system of religion which the State has hired him to sustain.

In such circumstances it may not be improper for individuals, whose opinions accord not with the principles of either such Statesmen, or of such Churchmen, and whose consciences urge them to attempt the amendment of what they think amiss, to propose their sentiments with great plainness and moderation, but with that firmness, at the same time, which becomes the subjects of a free State. They should certainly abstain, not only from all contumelious and disrespectful language towards the Establishment itself, but from reviling those who stand forth in it's defence. Nor should they be provoked to a contrary conduct by the example of their opponents. Illiberal insinuations, imperious language, arrogant pretensions to superior probity or understanding, disdainful and injurious repre-

representations of the designs, talents, arguments, and characters of those who think not with us, are modes of controversy equally abhorrent from that dignity of character which becomes a gentleman, and from that forbearance and charity of temper which adorn a Christian. Such weapons of offence, even in the mighty hands of Warburton, were odious; but in those of his feeble imitators, they are both odious and contemptible.

It may be thought, that the revisal of the Liturgy and Doctrines of the established Church, would in no wise contribute to the reformation of our manners; and those may be *sneered* at, who say that it would. Sneer and contempt apart, as unworthy of the subject, let us consider the matter fairly. Whatever tends to render the higher ranks of society more sincere believers in the truth of the Christian religion, than many of them are thought to be at present, will contribute to the amendment of *their* manners; and the influence of *their* amended manners will

will extend itself through the other classes of the community. Now to say, that there is nothing in our Liturgy, which, if removed, would tend to render the higher classes of the community more sincere believers in Christianity, is to take the matter for granted; it is a mere *gratis dictum*, and, I think, not a true *dictum*. Without here either admitting or denying the truth of the Athanasian doctrine of the Trinity, I ask whether, in fact, the maintaining the belief of that doctrine to be necessary to salvation, has or has not greatly contributed to the increase of Deism, both in this country and in others? If any one believes that it has not, then the removal of that doctrine would, in his judgment, be of no use in rendering men more sincere believers in Christianity; but if it has, and my opinion is most decided that it has, then there is solid sense, at least, in the reasoning of those who say, that a removal of the Athanasian doctrine of the Trinity from our Liturgy, would tend, and I will say greatly tend,

to

to the melioration of our manners. I beg to be rightly understood; I do not here affirm that these doctrines ought to be removed; it may be, as some men insinuate, that they cannot be removed without subverting the principles of the Christian faith; and on that supposition they certainly ought not to be removed; it may be (for unless a man is so very unreasonable, as to contend for the impossibility of any thing being true, except what he and his friends assent to) it may be that they are unscriptural doctrines; and, on that supposition, those who believe them to be so, and wish to see them expunged from our Liturgy, are right in their reasoning—that a reformation of our Liturgy would contribute to a reformation of manners.

I will produce two quotations, from two different authors, not with a view of either defending or finding fault with the justness of their observations, but simply to shew, that the opinion which I have taken the liberty to advance—that the Athanasian doctrine

doctrine of the Trinity has contributed to the increase of Deism—is not advanced merely to support an argument, but on solid grounds. *Whitby*, whose piety and learning are above all question, in his *Last Thoughts* writes thus—"This doc-"trine, that the Father, Son, and Holy "Ghost, are of one and the same indi-"vidual and numerical essence, seems to "burlesque the holy Scriptures, or give "them an uncouth and absurd sense, "from the beginning of the Gospel to "the end of the Epistles." Now, if the Athanasian doctrine of the Trinity burlesques and renders absurd the holy Scriptures from the beginning of the Gospel to the end of the Epistles, I know not how it can be expected, that any man of common sense, who looks no farther than to his Liturgy for his faith, and there are many such, can escape the infection of infidelity. I take the other quotation from a Book published in the course of the last year, entitled, "Observations upon the Liturgy; with a Propqsal for it's

it's Reform, &c. by a Layman of the Church of England, late an Under Secretary of State." I have thought it reasonable to produce the opinion of this Gentleman, in preference to that of many others which might have been produced, not only out of the respect which is due to his good intentions; but from thinking, that the testimony of a man who professes himself a friend to the Established Religion, and who from his situation must have mixed much with the world, would, as to the point for which I quote it, be of as much importance as that of any other man. "The Athanasian Creed is "represented and defended as so literally "copied from the Evangelists and Apostles, "that whosoever refuses his assent to every "tittle of it, is considered as a disbeliever "of Christ's Divinity, and a denier of "the three distinctions in the Divine "Nature in which we are commanded to "be baptized: And what is still more to "be lamented, many who go to that Creed "to learn Christianity, as conceiving it to

"be nothing but what all Christians must "and do believe, come away shocked or "confounded, and in compliment to their "own reason, or to preserve it, enlist under "the banners of Deism; insomuch, that "I really believe that Creed has made "more Deists than all the writings of all "the oppugners of Christianity, since it "was first unfortunately adopted in our "Liturgy."---Enough, I think, on this head; let us turn to another.

To call upon those who, out of a sincere regard to the public good, have *hinted* the propriety of a reformation of our Liturgy, for a full detail of all particulars which they may think exceptionable in it, would not be a reasonable demand, even if the subject was a new one. A man may be thoroughly convinced of the existence of an evil, and yet not be fully aware of the extent and malignity of it in all it's parts; or, supposing him perfectly acquainted with the whole subject, he may be kept back, out of a regard to peace and decency, and diffidence in his own ability, from

from displaying to the world all his knowledge, on a subject of delicacy and importance; or he may refrain from doing it, out of deference to those whose more immediate duty he may think it is, to bring forward his hints, by the authority annexed to their station, and by the sanctity appertaining to their function. These might be sufficient reasons for a man's contenting himself with throwing out general hints, even if the subject of them had never before attracted the attention of the world. But to demand particulars on this subject, must either proceed from an incompetent knowledge in the person who makes the demand; or from his reliance on the ignorance of those before whom it is made. The "Letter by a Country Curate," first published in a respectable Miscellany in 1737, afterwards redeemed *from oblivion* by appearing in a Book "On the Expediency and Necessity of revising and improving the Public Liturgy," in 1749, and lately brought forward again by the Author

of the "Hints," is neither the first nor the most important publication, though certainly valuable as far as it goes, on a reform of our Liturgy. The author of this Letter is supposed to have been the late Rev. David Hughes, Fellow of Queen's College in Cambridge; I have heard that he was a man of great modesty, liberality, and knowledge in the Scriptures, and that his memory is much revered in that University.

It is generally known that a Commission was issued in the year 1689, empowering several Bishops, and other Churchmen, to prepare such alterations of the Liturgy, &c. as they should judge reasonable. All the proceedings under that Commission are not known (the books containing the account of them having never been published) but some of them are: I will mention a few, from Birch's Life of Tillotson; not only with a view of satisfying, in some measure, the demands of those who call for particulars, but to oppose the authority of the names of Stillingfleet,

Stillingfleet, Patrick, Tillotson, Kidder, Tenison, &c. to that of those who have formerly thought, or who do now think, that no alteration whatever ought to take place, being well aware of the truth of that saying of *Hilary* to *St. Austin*, which is quoted by Hooker, "Your most religious wisdom knoweth how great the "number in the Church of God is, whom "the very authority of men's names doth "keep in that opinion which they hold "already, or draw into that which they "have not before held."

It was determined by the Commissioners in 1689—That the chanting of divine service in cathedral churches should be laid aside, that the whole may be rendered intelligible to the common people—that besides the Psalms being read in their course as before, some proper and devout ones be selected for Sundays—that the Apocryphal lessons, and those of the Old Testament which are too natural, be thrown out, and others appointed in their stead—that if any do in conscience scruple

the use of the cross in baptism, it may be omitted—that if any refuse to receive the sacrament of the Lord's Supper kneeling, it may be administered to them in their pews—that the absolution in morning and evening prayer may be read by a Deacon, and those words, *and remission* be put out as not being intelligible—that these words in the *Te Deum*, "thine honourable, true, "and only Son," be thus turned, "thine "only-begotten Son;" *honourable* being only a civil term, and no where used *in Sacris*—that the *Benedicite* shall be changed into the 128th Psalm, and other Psalms likewise appointed for the *Benedictus* and *Nunc dimittis*—that all high titles or appellations of the King, Queen, &c. shall be left out of the prayers, such as *most illustrious*, *religious*, *mighty*, &c. and only the word *Sovereign* retained for the king and queen—that those words in the Prayer for the King, *Grant that he may vanquish, and overcome all his enemies*, as of too large an extent, if the king engages in an unjust war, shall be turned thus,

thus, "prosper all his righteous under-"takings against thy enemies"—that the Prayer which begins, *O God, whose nature and property*, shall be thrown out, as full of strange and impertinent expressions.

About the Athanasian Creed, they came at last to this conclusion, that, lest the wholly rejecting it should by *unreasonable* persons be imputed to them as Socinianism, a rubric shall be made, setting forth or declaring the curses denounced therein not to be restrained to every particular article, but intended against those that deny the substance of the Christian religion.

These are some of the alterations of the Liturgy which were proposed by the Commissioners in 1689: what others were agreed to, is best known to those who have seen the original books: but, whether the representing even these as trifling and insignificant, and consisting of mere verbal errors, is a fair representation, I leave to the reader's own candid judgment, without presuming to direct it. It appears,

from the history of the times, that this reform was rejected by the influence of the Jacobites, who wanted to bring back King James; and of the *High Churchmen, who declared against all alterations whatever.* The particulars then thought necessary to be changed, and other particulars since thought necessary, might, it is presumed, when properly prepared, be submitted to the deliberation and decision of Parliament at this time, with a good prospect of success; I say of Parliament, for laymen are as much interested in the truth of Christianity as churchmen are; and, in this enlightened age, are as capable of seeing what is revealed in their Bible; and I say at this time, for the piety of the Monarch and his regard for religion are unquestioned; and I have not heard that he has ever expressed a dislike to the undertaking. We have now no *Jacobitical* faction to be afraid of; and if there are churchmen who *declare against any alteration whatever*, I think their number is, comparatively speaking, small. It is not

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in my power to comprehend the reason of this stiffness; it cannot surely proceed from that principle which influenced Archbishop *Whitgift*, when, on the *Commons* having passed a bill for permitting marriage to be celebrated at any time of the year, he complained to Queen Elizabeth, asserting that the bill contained matter which tended to the *slander of the Church, as having hitherto maintained an error*; for at this time of day we are too liberal, it is to be hoped, to conceive that any human constitution can be slandered for not having attained absolute perfection. If it should proceed from (as appears to me) a groundless apprehension of the constitution of the Church being endangered by innovation, I would beg leave to recommend to the *most serious consideration* of those who are of this opinion, a remark of Lord Bacon, whose manner is to express in a sentence what a common man would write a book about,—"a froward retention "of custom is as *turbulent* a thing as an "innovation;" and, let me add, though I cannot

I cannot expect equal credit to be given to the observation, *that more constitutions, civil and ecclesiastical, have been overturned by what is called firmness in their rulers, than by well-timed condescensions to popular requisitions.* — If more particulars are required than what were taken into consideration by the Commissioners in 1689, the reader may turn to a book published in 1746, and a second edition in 1750, entitled, " Free and Candid Disquisitions relating to the Church of England, and the Means of advancing Religion therein." If he still is not satisfied, but accuses the friends to reform of *dealing in generals*, let him look into Dr. Clarke's Improved Common Prayer Book; let him study a pamphlet, which will be remembered to the honour of it's author, when the concerns of humanity will affect him no more, published in 1774, under the title of " Queries relating to the Book of Common Prayer, &c. with proposed Amendments;" let him lastly peruse, " Observations on the Liturgy, &c." which I have before referred

referred to. No man who knows any thing of the works here mentioned, and the catalogue might have been much enlarged, can be at a loss for the particulars of that reform, which has been, in the course of the last hundred years, so often called for by men of candour, integrity, and learning: and no one, who considers the matter without passion or prejudice, will, I am persuaded, speak of it as a *frivolous object* which these men have in view, or suppose that they did not *understand* before they, it cannot with justice be said, *rebuked*, but *hinted* their dislike.

But, as there is an argument, it may be called a palmary one, which some men have always at hand to justify their clamours against an amendment of our Liturgy and Articles, it may be of use to consider it with some attention. The argument in brief is this: The knowledge of religion does not admit a progression similar to that which takes place in other subjects of human investigation; learning may indeed be properly employed in elucidating the difficulties

difficulties of the Sacred Writings, but with the doctrines themselves, as they are delivered in Scripture, human learning has no concern. Now, if I may be allowed the use of so strong a word, I *maintain* that this argument is not true; and I maintain, moreover, that the principle on which it is founded, is a principle better suited to the ignorance and tyranny of the Church of Rome, than to the learning and liberality of the Church of England. I maintain, that the argument is not true, inasmuch as the clear elucidation of a difficulty in the Sacred Writings is, in many important instances, the establishment of a doctrine. An expression apparently obscure or ambiguous may contain a *doctrinal* point; and when human learning has cleared up the obscurity, or removed the ambiguity, the doctrine will be ascertained, and not before: for a dubious and ambiguous doctrine is no doctrine. So that human learning may shew us *that* to be a doctrine, which, in our ignorance, we did not apprehend

apprehend to be one. Or it may shew us the reverse; it may shew us, that in deference to the authority of popes and councils, or in obedience to our own misapprehension of the sense of particular passages, we have taken that to be a doctrine of Scripture, which was nothing more than a fancy in our own brain, or in that of other men. It is one of the doctrines of the New Testament—*That Jesus Christ is the Son of God*; and I presume it would be no improper object for the exercise of human learning to inquire, in what sense Jesus Christ is said to be the Son of God; and if it should be found, that he is called the Son of God in more senses than one, there is no absurdity in thinking, that all the learned men in Christendom might be usefully employed in clearly and indubitably ascertaining, what was the sense in which the eunuch used the expression, when he said—*I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God*;—for on that profession he was baptized. An elucidation of this difficulty would rid the world of *many foolish*

foolish and unlearned questions; and teach mankind what was, and what was not, that doctrine concerning the person of Christ, without a belief of which a man must perish everlastingly.

So much has been written on the Trinity, on free will, on original sin, on grace, on predestination, and other supposed fundamental doctrines of our holy religion, that a man's lifetime would not be sufficient for enabling him to peruse all that has been published on any one of those subjects, either before the Reformation, or since.—What are we to learn from hence? Not a lesson of despondence, as if learning had no concern with the doctrines of the New Testament; but a lesson of diffidence and moderation; a lesson of backwardness in saying that our Church alone has *the faith which was once delivered to the saints*; a lesson of forbearance, in permitting those to minister amongst us, who cannot, in every thing, assent to our decision of such abstruse points. That *there is one God, and one mediator between God and man, the*

man

man Christ Jesus, who gave himself a ransom for all—That as in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive—That as the Father hath life in himself, so hath he given to the Son to have life in himself—That the eleven disciples were commanded *to teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost*—These and other truths of high importance, must of necessity be assented to by all, being expressed in Scripture language; and, in fact, no sect of Christians ever denied any of them. But does it follow from this general assent, that human learning has no concern with Scripture doctrines? Would to God that learned men had ever thought so, and would think so now! Then should we have been freed from learned creeds, learned confessions of faith, learned articles of religion.—If a summary of religion had been thought useful in the Church of Christ, and I deny not it's utility, it would have been expressed in the words of Scripture, and, every man being left at liberty

to interpret these words for himself according to the ability which God had given him, peace and charity would have been preserved. But this moderation has never yet taken place amongst Christians. All assent to the truth of doctrines expressed in Scripture language; but different sects interpret the same words in different senses, draw from them different conclusions, build on them different superstructures, and think uncharitably of one another on account of their different opinions. All allow that there is no appeal from the Bible; every Athanasian, Arian, Socinian, every heretic of every age has been ready to say, with Chillingworth, "Propose me any thing out of the Bible, "and require whether I believe it or no; "and seem it never so incomprehensible "to human reason, I will subscribe it with "hand and heart; as knowing no demon-"stration can be stronger than this, God "hath said so, therefore it is true." But every man of sense hath been ready to say also with Locke, when any thing hath been

been proposed to him out of the Bible, "It is the business of reason to judge of "the signification of the words wherein it "is delivered."

I think it has been of singular advantage to the cause of Christianity, that the authenticity of the books of the New Testament, that the reality of the miracles mentioned in them, that the completion of the prophecies of the Old Testament, that the inspiration of the Apostles, that the pre-existence of Jesus Christ, that the redemption of mankind through his blood, that all the great principles of Christian faith, have been questioned by men of learning and ingenuity; for, after all the subductions of facts, authorities, probabilities, doctrines have been made, which, from the exertions of great talents and great inclination to disparage the Christian system, could be made, still there remains somewhat of our common faith in which all agree; and that somewhat is, in my apprehension, a circumstance of such ineffable importance, that I will never refuse

the right hand of Christian fellowship to him who acknowledges it's truth, never think or speak of him with disrespect, or with true pharisaical pride esteem myself to be more orthodox, more acceptable to my Maker and Redeemer, than he is; and that somewhat is this—"Eternal life is the gift of God through Jesus Christ."—In vain will any man attempt to lessen in me my charity towards others, by telling me that this is but one of many truths contained in the Scripture, in which they agree with me: it may be so; God grant that we may all understand other truths as clearly as we understand this, and then there will be no disagreement amongst any of us. In vain will he attempt to puzzle my understanding with curious questions concerning the consubstantiality of the Father and the Son; with doubtful disputations concerning the infinite justice of the Supreme Being, requiring infinite satisfaction for the sins of a finite being, and estimating the atrocity of guilt, by the greatness of the Being against whom offence

offence is committed, rather than by the imbecility of the being who commits it; with metaphysical speculations concerning the impulsive principle which determined God to give this gift to mankind at all, or through another. Though I may understand little or nothing of these points, and of points such as these; and though it be certain that the bulk of Christians, wherever the Gospel is preached, must be wholly ignorant of them; yet all may press forward *in one hope of their calling*, all may be assured that, if they obey the Gospel, they will attain eternal life; for after all the merit which may be supposed to attend confessions of our faith, yet *they* only are true believers in Christ, who obey his commandments: what he himself said to the Jews, who believed on him, may be extended to all, *If ye continue in my word, then are ye my disciples indeed.*

I do not mean to insinuate that there is no merit in confessions of faith, or that learning is misemployed in extracting articles of faith from the doctrines of the

Scriptures; quite the contrary. The more critically one part of Scripture is compared with another, and the more accurately the language in which it is written is understood, the purer will our faith be. It is not learning, with respect to doctrines, which should be laid aside; but it is that self-sufficiency of intellect, which prompts a man to impose on others his sense of a doctrine as the only true sense, which ought to be discarded.

To allow any one age to prescribe in religion a mode of faith and worship for all succeeding ages, is to give way to that tyrannical assumption of power, which the Church of Rome claimed over the world, and ought never to be so much as mentioned amongst Protestants. I have great respect for the names of Cranmer, Hooker, Jewell, Chillingworth; but to assert that every thing was so properly settled by them, that we ought not to deviate from them in any thing, is to use that slavish argument *ad verecundiam*, which the Church of Rome might have used,

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used, and which she did use, in her most corrupted state. The enemies of religious establishments have not scrupled to say, that an attachment to system, a pretension to infallibility, an affectation of dominion over conscience, were not the peculiar marks of any particular establishment, but general characteristics appertaining to all. And I profess I cannot listen to the opinion, which would compel Protestants of all future ages to submit their understandings to the decisions of Cranmer and Ridley, of Parker and Grindal, and other reformers of religion, and compilers of liturgies, without astonishment and concern. These men, it is readily allowed, did much; but have Locke, and Clarke, and Hoadly, and Taylor, done nothing? When at the Council of Trent the Church of Rome said—*ad coercenda petulantia ingenia decernit (Synodus) ut nemo suæ prudentiæ innixus in rebus fidei et morum ad ædificationem doctrinæ pertinentium, sacram scripturam ad suos sensus contorquens, et contra sensum*

quem tenuit, et tenet Sancta Mater Ecclesia, cujus est judicare de vero sensu et interpretatione Scripturarum Sanctarum, aut etiam contra unanimem sensum Patrum, ipsam sacram Scripturam interpretari audeat, what did the Church of Rome *then* say more, than what is *now* said by certain members of the Church of England? The meaning of their language is this—Let no one presume to use his own ability in expounding Scripture contrary to the sense of the Established Church, and the unanimous consent (though such unanimity never existed) of those learned Fathers who have gone before us; every thing is settled, nothing can be altered for the better, religion is not a progressive science, and they who think it to be so are *petulantia ingenia*, and must be coerced.

Systems in theology have as much obstructed the progress of revealed truth, as systems in philosophy have done that of natural truth; and it will require as much application of genius, industry, and learning, to free the Christian world from the dominion

dominion of corrupted doctrine, as it did to free the philosophic world from the dominion of Aristotle. So that,

> Though religion be not intended,
> For nothing else but to be mended,

Yet councils, and synods, and convocations, and assemblies of churchmen, have used so much wood, hay, stubble, in erecting, altering, and repairing religious establishments, that Wickliffe and Luther were almost at a loss to discover religion itself: instead of the foundation of *Apostles* and *Prophets*, they met with that of councils and churches; instead of *the chief Corner-stone Jesus Christ*, they every where met with *Antichrist*, who had usurped his place. In plain language, Christianity has been so corrupted, that it will be a work of ages to restore it to it's original purity; and Dr. Cudworth had reason on his side, when he doubted whether the truth of the Christian religion was more apparent in having prevailed against it's enemies, or in not having been smothered by the frauds and forgeries of it's friends.—

But it is time to advert for a moment to the Athanasian Creed. I have heard of the blasphemy of heresy in denying the Athanasian doctrine of the Trinity; and I have heard of the blasphemy of orthodoxy in defending it. In the use of such expressions, every one must be supposed to deliver only his own sense of things; and this diversity of opinion may be easily tolerated, if every man will but treat the opinion of his neighbour with that respect and moderation which he wishes to be given to his own; and abstain from, what he would resent as an indignity if offered to himself, imposing his sense of things on other men. Let no one rashly and injuriously conclude, that he who dislikes the Athanasian Creed, and wishes to see it expunged from our Liturgy, does thereby shew his disbelief of the doctrine of a Trinity; he may admit the doctrine of *a* Trinity, without admitting the doctrine of the Athanasian Trinity; nay, he may even admit the doctrine of the Athanasian Trinity, and yet reject the Creed for it's uncharitableness. The opinions of divines

who

who have admitted a Trinity, have been infinitely various. "Did Athanasius (says "a deep inquirer into this subject) deny "the Trinity, because he differed from "Origen? or Cyril, because he differed "from Athanasius? or Petavius, because "he differed from Cyril? or Clarke, Pear-"son, How, Wallis, South, Bennet, "Burnet, Sherlock, &c. because they dif-"fered from one another? or Waterland, "because he formed a system different "from all that went before him? Surely "by no means; every one had a right to "understand the doctrine as he thought "was most agreeable to Scripture, but "none of them to impose his opinion on "other men." I have introduced this quotation to abate the apprehensions of those who might think, that in parting with the Athanasian Creed, they must of necessity give up every idea of a Trinity; they will part with nothing more than what every church of Christ, whether situated in the *East* or in the *West*, ought, when it was first offered to them, to have rejected

rejected as a bold invasion of their Christian liberty, as a direct infringement of the Christian law of charity.

A man (nobody now certainly knows who he was, or when he lived) of like passions, prejudices, and infirmities with the rest of his species, has had the presumption to declare, that everlasting punishment will be the lot of all those who do not believe a doctrine, and his exposition of that doctrine, which, if revealed at all in Scripture, is confessedly above human comprehension, and incapable of explanation. It is trifling to say that the damnatory clauses *are not parts of the Creed, and declare nothing more than the opinion of the composer*, for they extend from the beginning to the end of the Creed, and denounce damnation against all who do not believe every part of it; and it is evident that the Commissioners in 1689 understood them to do so, or they would never have proposed that "a *Ru-*" *bric* should be made, declaring the curses "denounced in the Creed *not to be*

"*restrained*

" *restrained to every particular Article*, but " intended against those who deny the " substance of the Christian religion in " general." The reader will do me injustice, if he thinks that I am in this place objecting to the doctrine of the Trinity on any ground; and he will do me much greater injustice, if he thinks that I am objecting to it, on the ground of my inability to comprehend it. I know full well my inability to comprehend either the natural or moral attributes of the Deity; the mode of my own existence; the operation of any natural cause whatever; to derive any objection to the Trinity from such a principle; nor do I believe that the incomprehensibility of the doctrine, ever hindered a man of sense from embracing it: all at least whom I have conversed with, have uniformly argued—We know the distinct provinces of faith and reason; we know that God will never require us to believe any thing that is *contrary* to reason; and we are ready to believe any thing that is *above* our reason,

reason, if it can be shewn to come from him: we do not object to the doctrine of the Trinity because it is above our reason, and we cannot comprehend it; but we object to it, because we cannot find that it is either literally contained in any passage of Holy Writ, or can by sound criticism be deduced from it.

Whosoever will be saved: before all things it is necessary that he hold the catholic faith. Which faith, except every one do keep whole and undefiled: without doubt he shall perish everlastingly. And the catholic faith is this: That we worship one God in Trinity, and Trinity in Unity. Shew me, *thou that judgest another man's servant* so harshly, thou that boldly sayest without doubt he shall perish everlastingly, shew me in what part of the Bible, men are commanded to *worship one God in Trinity, and Trinity in Unity*—the sanction is dreadful, the law should be plain—produce the passage itself, and presume not by inference and argumentation, by metaphysical notions, scholastic distinctions, and unscriptural phraseology,

phraseology, to damn without doubt all men, for not believing as thou believest. I know that the divine displeasure is, in many places, denounced against those who reject the Gospel, when it has been offered to them; but I deny that it is in any one place denounced against those, who do not *worship one God in Trinity, and Trinity in Unity, neither confounding the persons nor dividing the substance.* Without tiring my reader by shewing the irrelevancy, if I may be allowed the expression, of most of those passages which are usually produced from Scripture, in justification of the damnatory clauses of this Creed, I will single out one, and that by far the strongest which can be met with; but I will not content myself, *as is too often done,* with quoting the latter part of the passage only. Jesus, when he was about finally to leave his disciples, said to them—*Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature: He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved; but he that believeth not shall be damned.*

damned.—Without stopping in this place, to inquire critically into the meaning of the word *damned*, as it is here used, but admitting, what some men will not grant, that it has a reference to a future state; what is the whole passage, when taken as it ought to be together, to the purpose for which it is produced? Damnation is here denounced against those who do not believe the *Gospel*, but it is not denounced against those who do not believe the Creed of St. Athanasius. But the doctrine of the Gospel, you will rejoin, is exactly the same as the doctrine of the Creed of St. Athanasius.—So *you* are pleased to say—but *I* have a right to demand how you *know* it to be the same; the term "Trinity" occurs not at all, the term "substance" occurs not in the sense in which it is here used, in the whole New Testament; and the other phrases in which the different parts of the Creed are expressed, are not Scripture phrases; the utmost that you can say, or that the compiler of the Creed himself (whether it

was

was Vigilius *Tapsensis*, as he is commonly called, or any other person) could have said, is, that you *believe* it to be the same. It may be that your belief is right; it may be, that it is otherwise; this is not the time for examining whether it be right or wrong; I say nothing on that subject; but I must remind you, of what you ought never to have forgotten for a moment, that there are and have ever been thousands, and tens of thousands of men, who have resolutely contended, and do now contend, rightly or otherwise I here inquire not, that your belief is an absolute error; that the Creed of St. Athanasius is not the same thing as the Gospel; that myriads of Jews and Gentiles were baptized and put, they trust, into a state of salvation, before ever the name of Athanasius was heard of in the world; that the Church of England herself baptizes infants and *adults* in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and declares them to be thereby made heirs of everlasting salvation on their professing a belief

a belief of the *Apostles' Creed*; that in doing this, she clearly shews, either that she does not believe the Creed of Athanasius to be necessary to salvation, for she declares persons to be in a state of salvation without their profession of it; or, that she thinks it is in nothing different from the Apostles' Creed; and, if it be in nothing different from the Apostles' Creed, the introduction of it into the Liturgy, whenever it was done, was useless; and the retention of it is *the receiving him that is weak in the faith to doubtful disputations; it is putting a stumbling-block, an occasion to fall, in our brother's way.*

Gracious God! whence is it that men are so little conscious of the imperfection of human knowledge in all sciences; of the utter impotency of human reason in whatever respects Deity; of the fallibility of human judgment in every thing; that they have so little humility as men, so little charity as Christians, as not to blush at erecting their interpretation of Scripture, into an idol, which all men must either

either worship, or perish *without doubt everlastingly!* That there are several Gospel truths in the Creed of St. Athanasius is not denied; but it is argued, though every particular of the Creed could be proved from Scripture to the satisfaction of every Christian in the world, except one, that all the Christians in the world would err against Gospel charity, in adjudging, without any doubt, that *one* to *everlasting* damnation, for not believing as they believe.

I meddle not with the doctrine of the Creed; the meaning of the terms *consubstantiality* and *personality*, as applied even to objects of our senses, is not clearly comprehended by one man in a thousand: Mr. Locke's opinion, that abstract ideas constitute the sorts of substances, is somewhat more intelligible than the scholastic doctrine of substantial forms; and yet different men would not perhaps soon agree, in what the substance of man differed from that of brute. But when these terms are applied to the Supreme

Being; when Christ is said to be consubstantial with us by reason of his humanity, and consubstantial with God by reason of his Deity (ὁμοουσιος τω πατρι κατα την θεοτητα, και ὁμοουσιος ἡμιν κατα την ανθρωποτητα), all my ideas, abstract and others, are entirely lost; and though on that account, the propositions respecting such consubstantiality are not to be rejected, if God hath said that they are true; yet a man may humbly wish, and he ought not to be esteemed factious and turbulent for expressing his wish to submit his reason to the very words of Revelation, rather than to terms of man's invention.

I enter not into the question, when or by whom this Creed was composed. *Cave*, as quoted by Dr. *Clarke*, says, that it was never cited till about the year 800, above 400 years after the death of Athanasius; nor was received in the church till so very late as about the year 1000: But though it could be proved that this *inestimable* treasure, as it has been called, was given to the church as long before the age of Athanasius,

Athanasius, as it was probably given after it, still must I be of opinion, that the Church of Christ ought never to have received it. There may be inveteracy of error, as well as antiquity of truth; and he who can say nothing for his own opinions, but that they are old; or against those of his opponents, but that they are new; seems to me to say nothing to the purpose on either side. I will speak freely. Was I compelled to receive a creed of *human* composition, I would more willingly, in these enlightened times, receive one from such men as Locke, Clarke, or Tillotson, than from either Athanasius or Arius, or even from hundreds of contentious or political bishops, assembled in solemn council at *Nice*, *Antioch*, or *Ariminum*.

After this declaration, the reader will not expect, that I should labour to adorn my page, or to display my learning (no difficult matter, I assure him, in subjects of this kind) by a long string of quotations from the Fathers, in support of the

doctrine of the Athanasian Creed, or in opposition to it. There is the less necessity for my doing this, inasmuch as it has been frequently done by others; for though all the ancient authorities have not probably been produced on either side, which might be produced; yet few of much importance have escaped the researches of Petavius, Bull, Clarke, Whiston, Whitby, Waterland, and more modern writers on the Trinity. And there is no necessity at all for it's being done either by me or any body else, if we may credit the judgment of the modest and impartial Whitby, he having, without any reserve, declared it to be his opinion, and supported his declaration by great learning, "that the "controversies concerning the Trinity "cannot be certainly settled by the "writings of the fathers, by councils, or "catholic tradition." So that if a controversialist should become another *Peter Lombard* in collecting the *sentences* of the fathers, or another *Duns Scotus* in twisting them to his purpose, he would not, in the opinion

opinion of competent judges, be able to establish (perhaps it may be added, not to refute, so loosely do the Fathers often express themselves) the Athanasian doctrine of the Trinity. The doctrine, if it can be established, must be established as all other doctrines ought to be, on the authority of Scripture. And in having recourse to Scripture on this point, I cannot but admire that so much learning has been expended by one party in proving, and by the other in disproving, the genuineness of the famous text in the first Epistle of St. John. May I be permitted humbly to state my opinion—That the text, if genuine, can never prove the truth of the Athanasian doctrine of the Trinity, to the satisfaction of those who think that doctrine not to be proved in other parts of Scripture: and, on the other hand, that the text, if not genuine, will not enable the impugners of that doctrine to get rid of the other arguments from Scripture, by which it may be maintained; for, it appears from Whiston's Life of

Clarke, that not only Newton, and Bentley, and Clarke, gave up the text as not genuine, but that the most learned defender of the Trinity, Waterland himself, thought it was spurious. Mr. *Travis's* labours, on the genuineness of this text, are highly meritorious; and the labours of *Wolfius*, in his *Curæ Philologicæ*, published at Basil in 1741, are highly meritorious also; but to say that the separate or united labours of these gentlemen have left no room for *future doubt*, or *that the text now rests on the surest basis of authority and proof*, is affirming, what many excellent critics will not admit to be true, and what, if true, would not settle the point of doctrine, respecting a Trinity.

It has been said, and with an air of triumph, which the strictest accuracy, and the most indisputable veracity of the saying, would scarcely justify, "that the "Book of Common Prayer, which has "lately been adopted by the episcopalian "church in America, is in all *material* "points the same with ours; and indeed, "excepting

"excepting a few alterations, not one of "them impugning any article of faith, "an exact copy of our own Ritual." In a book of Common Prayer, published in 1786 at Philadelphia, and re-published last year in London, I find many variations from our Liturgy; I will first take notice of some, which, though they may be spoken of as not material, will by many be thought so; and then mention others, which all will acknowledge to be important.

The wish of the *Country Curate*, with respect to sponsors, is accomplished; for by the American Liturgy—*Parents shall be admitted as sponsors, if it be desired*, and the sign of the cross may be omitted. The objection of the *Country Curate* to the prayer in the Burial Service, beginning with, *Almighty God, with whom do live*, &c, as being neither agreeable to reason or Scripture, has been attended to; for in the American Liturgy there is no such prayer. In the same service, the phrases—*take unto himself the soul of our dear brother*, is changed into, *take out of this*

world—The phrase, *in sure and certain hope of the resurrection to eternal life*; and, *as our hope is this our brother doth*, are both left out. In the article entitled, *Of Faith in the Holy Trinity*, I cannot find any thing answering to—*in Unity of this Godhead there be three Persons of one substance.* In the article of *Original Sin*, I cannot find—*therefore in every person born into this world it deserveth God's wrath and damnation.* I can find nothing answering to our 13th Article, in which works done before justification are said, *to have the nature of sin:* and the article respecting *predestination* is greatly altered. But I study brevity; and will turn from these and similar points, surely not immaterial ones, to others which have been looked upon as of great moment. I will instance in four particulars. In the Apostles' Creed, the words "He descended into Hell" are omitted—the Athanasian Creed is omitted—the Nicene Creed is omitted—the Absolution of the Sick is omitted, and a Prayer from the Communion

munion service is introduced in it's stead. These are some of the alterations of our Liturgy, which the episcopalian church in America thought fit to propose; most of which they have adopted; and all of which, I question not, they would have adopted, had they been left to the free and impartial exertion of their own judgment: and how far such a Liturgy can be looked upon as almost an exact copy of our Ritual, let the candid inquirer judge.

Whether I am, or am not, justified in thinking, that the American episcopalian church would have adopted all the alterations, which appear in the Common Prayer Book printed at Philadelphia in 1786, if they had been permitted to follow their own judgment, the reader must determine from the following statement of facts, which I have extracted from the journals of the American Convention, appointed to frame an Ecclesiastical Constitution, and prepare a Liturgy, published in a book before quoted, by *A late Under Secretary of State.*

The

The clerical and lay deputies of the several States of New York, New Jersey, Pensylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia and South Carolina, consisting of forty-two persons, assembled in convention at Philadelphia, and held several meetings from the 27th of September, to the 7th of October 1785. In these meetings a committee, consisting of seven clerical, and of seven lay deputies, was appointed to consider of, and report such alterations in the Liturgy, as should render it consistent with the American revolution, and such further alterations in the Liturgy, as it might be advisable for the convention to recommend to the consideration of the Church there represented: the same committee was appointed to prepare a draft of an ecclesiastical constitution, for the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America; and also to prepare and report a plan for obtaining the consecration of bishops, together with an address to the archbishops and bishops of the Church of England, for that

purpose. All this was performed by the committee, and reported to the convention, and the book of Common Prayer, which I have mentioned, was recommended by the convention to the consideration of the church by them represented.—It does not appear that any objection whatever was made to this reformed Liturgy by the episcopalian church in America, and that it was in fact used by that church for some time is therefore to be presumed.—It seemed good to the Bishops of England, before they consecrated any American bishops, to recommend, shall it be said, or to require, that in the American Common-Prayer Book—the Apostles' Creed should be restored to it's integrity; and that a place should be given in it to the Nicene and Athanasian Creeds, even though the use of them should be left discretional.—This recommendation, or requisition, was taken into consideration by a convention of five States (there being no Deputies from Virginia or Maryland) assembled at Wilmington in the State of Delaware, on the

the 11th of October 1786, consisting of twenty persons. On the question being put, whether the words, "He descended into Hell," should be restored in the Apostles' Creed? 13 said Aye, and 7 said Nay, and so the words were to be restored. On the question, shall the *Nicene Creed* be restored in the Liturgy? the same was unanimously agreed to. It appears very probable, though it is not clearly stated, that this restoration of the Nicene Creed was no more than a permission for the Minister to use either that *or* the Apostles' Creed. On the question, shall the Creed, commonly called the *Athanasian Creed*, be admitted in the Liturgy of the Protestant episcopal church in the United States of America? 17 said Nay, and 3 said Aye; and so it was determined that the Athanasian Creed shall not be admitted into the Liturgy of the Protestant episcopalian church in America. All the Deputies of the States of New York, Pensylvania, and South Carolina, said Nay; those of New Jersey and Delaware were divided.—If any

any alterations have been made in this matter since October 1786, they have not come to my knowledge. On the supposition that none have been made, I beg the reader to consider—whether the American Liturgy, which, in addition to many other important variations, has absolutely rejected the Creed of St. Athanasius, be in all *material* points the same as ours; if it be, we may presume that the Athanasian Creed is an *immaterial point*, and that those who think it so, will forward it's expulsion from the Liturgy of the church of England.

With respect to the doctrine of the Trinity as *explained* by Athanasius or any other *man*, I cannot look upon it to be so fundamental in religion, as to think we should be *guilty of sin*, in consenting to revise, or even to change it. If in this I differ from some, I have others to support me; nay, I have the great principle of all the Protestant churches in the world in my favour: for it is a principle with them all, to admit the fallibility of all *human* explications

explications of Scripture: Every *human* explication then of the Trinity, may be an erroneous explication; and what *may* be an *error*, cannot be, and ought not to be imposed, as a fundamental Christian verity. *Episcopius*, *Curcellæus*, *Limborch*, as eminent divines as Christendom hath ever known, all maintained—that the belief of the Trinity, according to any human explication of the doctrine, was not necessary to salvation—and many of our own Divines, in answering the objections of Freethinkers, have maintained the same thing—and, indeed, the bishops of England, by permitting the episcopalian church in America to use or not to use the Nicene and Athanasian Creeds according to their discretion, may be thought to have given no obscure intimation, of their not believing the profession of these human explanations of the Trinity, to be necessary to salvation. So that, I sincerely own, I cannot see, upon what principle of reason or religion, the revisal, even of the doctrines of our Liturgy can be objected

objected to. To say that what is established, is right, and shall be maintained, is an imperious argument of authority; more befitting the mouth of the *Pope* at Rome, or of the *Mufti* at Constantinople, than that of any Protestant in Christendom. If we look back a few hundred years into our own history, we shall find our ancestors *then* believed; nay, if we do but cross the channel, we shall find millions of men *now* believing, a doctrine, and contending that it is founded on the sure word of God, which we think has no foundation whatever, either in reason or Scripture—the doctrine of Transubstantiation. And who will say that our posterity may not be as much astonished at our having believed the Athanasian doctrine of the Trinity, as we are astonished at our ancestors having believed the doctrine of transubstantiation, which the Romanists maintain to be as credible, and as firmly supported by Scripture, as *that* doctrine of the Trinity is? My contending, or any person's contending—that

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it is impossible such a revolution of sentiment should ever take place in the breasts of Englishmen, is no better proof of such impossibility, than a Catholic priest's contending, that it is impossible Frenchmen should ever disbelieve transubstantiation, would be a proof that such an event would never take place; an event, which most Englishmen believe will take place soon.

Is it reasonable then, it may be urged, upon principles of impartial justice—that the Trinitarian worship of the *national church* should be subverted, in order to make room for the Unitarian worship of *Mr. Lindsey's chapel—of that shop in Essex-street*, (as it has been scornfully called) *where men may go, and buy their divinity?*—Men certainly pay, and properly pay, their instructors both in the national church, and in Mr. Lindsey's chapel: that consideration will not help to decide the question; nor in considering it, should we pay attention to the words *church* and *chapel*. In answering it, I should certainly say

say—it is reasonable, if the Unitarian worship adopted by Mr. Lindsey, be more conformable to Scripture, than the Trinitarian worship followed by the Church of England.—But, who shall decide that point? On the one hand, we have men of good morals, and of great learning, who object to our worship (God forbid! that I should so far forget either my modesty, or my charity, as to say their objections are either *silly, or begotten in ignorance, or nursed by self-conceit)* affirming the Unitarian worship, to be the only worship, which is conformable to the whole tenor of the Old and New Testament. On the other hand, we have men of morals as good, and of learning as great, who affirm that the Trinitarian worship is more conformable to Scripture than the Unitarian. Here, then, we have affirmation opposed to affirmation; but affirmation is not the measure of truth.—Will numbers help us to a conclusion? Must we say that the Trinitarian worship is more conformable to Scripture than

the Unitarian, inasmuch as there are more Trinitarians than Unitarians in Christendom? No—Consent of numbers is not the criterion of true doctrine; if it was, we must admit that the Roman Catholic is more pure than the Protestant religion; that Mahomet's religion is better founded than the religion of Jesus; and Paganism than both of them. Numbers may by force put an end to contention, but they cannot produce conviction. What then is reasonable to be done? I am not accustomed to conceal my sentiments on any subject, and I have no hesitation in delivering them on this; I have only to beg the reader's excuse for the liberty I take in delivering any opinion on a point of such intricacy and delicacy; but my opinion is—that the Trinitarian worship should be continued in the church at present; not on the ground of it's being most conformable to Scripture (for who shall judge of that?) but on the ground of it's being *now* believed to be so by the legislature of the kingdom; and that those who

who believe otherwise, should have the most absolute liberty to worship God in their way, and to publish whatever interpretations of Scripture they should judge proper in support of their doctrines. If, in the vicissitudes incident to all human opinions, the legislature of this country, which represents (really or not, is not now the question) the majority of the people, should be persuaded, that the Unitarian form of worship was more conformable than the Trinitarian to the word of God, then it would be proper that the Unitarian worship should be the worship of the national church; and that the Trinitarians should be allowed the same absolute liberty of worshipping in their way, and of publishing in support of their opinions, which I think is due, and ought now to be granted to the Unitarians. This, perhaps, is not the best possible thing which might be done, if a church constitution was to be formed *de novo*; but I think it is all that can in reason be demanded of a state, which has previously determined to

establish only one sect of Christians: the justice of such a determination I think might be proved; and the policy of it is not now the subject of inquiry. Perhaps it will be thought that I take too much for granted, in saying, that the Trinitarian worship is *now* believed by the legislature, to be more conformable to Scripture than the Unitarian—but such is my opinion, and in taking the liberty to declare it, I do not wish to press it upon other men as a fact. May I be permitted to mention another opinion—that was the question concerning the propriety of substituting Dr. Clarke's amended Liturgy, or one on that plan, in the place of our present Liturgy, *now* proposed, in order to have the decision of the legislature upon it a twelvemonth hence, so that all serious men might have time to consider the subject, my opinion is, that it would be decided for Dr. Clarke's amended Liturgy, or one on that plan.

I beg the reader to remark, that the general excellency of our Liturgy is not here

here either denied or questioned; a review of it is the only thing contended for. A great many learned men, both in the last century and in this, have justly spoken of the Liturgy in terms of commendation; and some have spoken of it in such an extravagant style of panegyric, as cannot with propriety, I had almost said, as cannot without impiety, be applied to any human composition. Notwithstanding this, I know of no period of church history, from the beginning of the Reformation to the present time, in which objections of weight have not been made to various parts of it, by men of probity and competent knowledge of the subject, and more particularly, since the last establishment of the Liturgy in 1661. There have frequently arisen (not Puritans or Dissenters of any kind) but men nursed up in the bosom of the church, who have not scrupled to maintain, that a revisal both of the worship and doctrines of the Liturgy, and of the Articles of Religion, would tend to the ease of men's consciences,

to the furtherance of piety and good morals, to the reputation of the church, and the purity of religion. To speak of such men as of prodigies in the moral world, who are to be noticed for their singularity rather than revered for their integrity; to represent them as anomalous and eccentric characters; to charge them with being enemies to all establishments, or to that of the Church of England; as being destitute of justice and honour, in endeavouring to amend an establishment, which they receive wages for defending—what is all this? It is *loving darkness rather than light*, it is damping the spirit of inquiry, it is conducting controversy in a manner, neither calculated to increase the moderation of the church, or to promote the investigation of truth.

But you will say, that Clergymen, who in the progress of their ministry become dissatisfied with any part of the ritual and doctrines of the church, ought to resign their preferments, and retire from the ministry.—And do you, whose lot it may be

be to live in luxury and draw thousands from the church, do you, in the violence of your moral virtue, in the intemperance of your religious zeal, in the over-orthodoxy of your faith, do you call upon a poor clergyman, who in the humility of his soul dares not say "by his authority committed to me I absolve thee from all thy sins," or who, in the weakness of his intellect, cannot understand the meaning of the terms, in which the Athanasian doctrine of the Trinity is expressed, or, in the charity of his heart, scruples denouncing damnation on his brethren—do you call upon such a man to give up his preferments, to retire from the ministry, and to starve? If there is a Bishop on the bench who would do this, I should be proud to say, God forgive the boast! that, was I a bishop, my soul was not at unison with his.

But if one man may omit this part of the Liturgy because he dislikes it, another may omit that; and thus, by giving way to the scruples of individuals, nothing will

be left.—It will be time enough to answer this objection, when the omissions shall become so numerous, as that the essentials of worship are not left; or so offensive to christian congregations, as to endanger the public peace. I allow the utility of an established Liturgy; I allow the propriety of requiring from ministers a consent to the use of it; and I think that no man should enter into the church, who is of opinion that there is any thing in the Liturgy, which he cannot with a safe conscience use. But I plead for indulgence to those whose sentiments on some points may become changed. Even Dr. Clarke, who, in the first Edition of his incomparable book on the Trinity, allowed that "by analogy the Holy Spirit may also "be desired to convey such gifts as it is "his peculiar office to distribute to the "church," seems to have changed his mind on that important point, as the passage is left out in all the subsequent editions of that work. Though a friend to uniformity, I am not such a rigid friend

to

to it, as to think that slender deviations from it should be harshly interpreted; strictly speaking, every bishop would have right on his side in executing ecclesiastical vengeance against such clergymen, in his diocese, as omitted the use of the Athanasian Creed; but none, I hope, would either hunt after an occasion for exercising this *Summum jus*, or be happy in it's being presented to him by others: all of them, I trust, would agree with Bishop Taylor, in saying, that "there is no stumbling-"block more troublesome or dangerous, "than a severe, literal, and rigorous "exacting of laws, in all cases."—And this puts me in mind of adding a word on the utility of revising, at stated periods, constitutions of all kinds, civil or ecclesiastical.

"That our Liturgy and Articles of "Religion should from time to time pass "under a formal examination, even if "nothing should be found alterable "therein," has been very wisely said by the Author of the "Hints;" for it would be

be a satisfaction to find that nothing wanted alteration; or, as would generally be the case, it would be a comfort to good men to know, that what did want alteration was in the way of being reformed. The very principle recommended by this Author doth in fact make a part of the Constitution of some of the States in America; and in particular of the State of Pennsylvania. In the 47th Section of the Plan of Government of that State, a *Council of Censors* is established, which is to be appointed every seventh year, and to continue in authority one year. The duty of this council is, not only to inquire whether "the Constitution has been preserved inviolate, but to propose the amendment of any article of the Constitution which may be defective, and to add such as are necessary for the preservation of the rights and happiness of the people."

It is time to draw towards a conclusion. What is it then, it may be said, that you wish

wish to have done? You have already admitted, that you think the majority of the legislature are Trinitarians, and that the national religion ought to be the religion of the majority; and consequently, that no change ought to take place.—Softly, good Sirs, permit me to draw my own consequences, and to state my own opinions. And the most leading feature of my humble opinion is—that every obstruction to a free and impartial examination of the Word of God, should be removed from the minds of all men, and especially from the minds of the Clergy. They are now bound to subscribe Articles of Religion, and to declare that every thing contained in the Book of Common-Prayer is agreeable to the Word of God, at an age when, it may reasonably be presumed, few of them have an accurate knowledge of what the Word of God is, in many important points. A prejudice in favour of particular doctrines is, by these means, unwarily planted in their minds, it grows with their growth, it chokes

chokes that freedom of understanding which can alone produce truth, and overpowers in a thousand instances their utmost endeavours to root it out. And when it is further considered, that the religious opinions which were thus at first imbibed, are through life strengthened by a prospect of emolument held out to those who adhere to them; and that a profession of other opinions is attended with danger to a man's fortunes, and with disgrace to his reputation, I cannot see how it can properly be expected that any, except a few *anomalous and eccentric characters* should have courage to examine the ground on which their faith is built. "Men," says Mr. Locke, "are fond of "certain tenets, upon no other evidence "but respect and custom, and think they "must maintain them, or all is gone; "though they have never examined the "ground they stand on, nor have ever "made them out to themselves, or can "make them out to others. We should "contend earnestly for the truth, but we

"should

"should first be sure that it is Truth, or "else we fight against God, who is the "God of truth, and do the work of the "Devil, who is the father and propagator "of lies; and our zeal, though never so "warm, will not excuse us; for this is "only prejudice." An absolute indifferency as to the truth or falsehood of religious opinions, is the only basis on which men should ground all their inquiries into the meaning of the word of God. So far am I from thinking it to be the duty of a christian magistrate, to influence men's judgments with respect to religious doctrines, by rewards and punishments, that I conceive it to be quite the contrary; I conceive it to be his duty to leave men's judgments as free and uninfluenced as he possibly can, consistently with the safety of that religious establishment, which, for the common good, he hath thought fit to introduce and to support. It is an obstruction to truth for a magistrate to profess his attachment to any particular sect in religion;

religion; because the authority and reverence annexed to his *civil* station, extend themselves to his *religious* persuasion; and men are induced to embrace doctrines, not from a conviction that they are true, but from a certainty that they are believed to be so by the magistrate, and from a confused notion of the infallibility of his judgment. This evil, unavoidably incident to the situation of every magistrate who supports any one denomination of Christians by an exclusive patronage, should be kept within as confined bounds, as the nature of it will admit. He should not be so narrow-minded as to imagine the common good to be so inseparably connected with his religious belief, as that he ought to discourage the free discussion of all other religious opinions; he should not be so bigoted as to suppose himself possessed of any degree of infallibility, but modestly to admit that other men may be as honest and wise as himself; he ought in no manner to obstruct, but to give a free current to the sentiments

of others, and whenever the tide of opinion should change, instead of resisting it by his authority, he ought to suffer himself to be carried away by it. Had the civil magistrate, in the different states of Christendom since the age of Constantine, acted upon such an enlarged plan of moderation and free inquiry, I am as much convinced as I can be of any thing so incapable of proof, that either an unity of opinion in doctrine and worship would long ago have taken place amongst Christians, or that persecution at least, of every kind and degree, would have been utterly abolished from the constitutions of all civil governments, and it's spirit extinguished in the hearts of individuals. If then I might be permitted to hint what appears to me proper to be done, I should say—That a commission should be issued, empowering an equal number of Laymen and Churchmen, to revise the Liturgy; and to propose to the consideration of Parliament, such alterations in it as they should think fit; having respect

respect in the execution of their office to what was done by the Commissioners in 1689, to what has since been offered from the press in various publications, and to what has been adopted in the Liturgy of the Episcopalian Church in America—That subscription to the 39 Articles of Religion, and to the 2d and 3d Articles of the 36th Canon, and the declaration of assent and consent to the book of Common Prayer, should be laid aside wholly; unless it should be thought fit to preserve the subscription to articles made against Popery—That every person, when he is ordained, or instituted to a benefice, shall make and subscribe the following declaration, or one to the same sense: I believe, the canonical Scriptures of the Old and New Testament to be the word of God, and to contain all things necessary to salvation; and I do solemnly engage to conform to the Liturgy of the Church of England, as it is now by law established. —It becomes not an individual, who has hopes of seeing a business undertaken by proper

proper authority, to be forward in anticipating public wisdom, by obtruding his sentiments upon it; nor would I have ventured to mention mine, but to obviate the censure usually thrown upon reformers, of dealing in generals.

By some such plan of alteration as is here proposed, neither the constitution or government of the Established Church would be at all changed; we should have the same conformity to the use of a Liturgy, which we have at present, and as little diversity of doctrine as ought to be desired. Theology would no longer be narrowed "by corruption into a trade or "faction, for mean or ill ends, and secular "interests." The prejudice arising from the influence of custom, from the authority of party, from the hope of emolument, or the fear of censure, being done away, men would study the doctrines delivered by the sacred writers, with the same impartiality as they do the doctrines of Newton or Hippocrates. The great question in debate at present amongst us,

respects the person of Christ; he who has any wish for it's being decided one way rather than another, is not in a state of mind for the examining which way it ought to be decided. To think rightly in religion, is a matter of infinitely more importance to every man, than to be zealous in *supporting* or in *subverting* established doctrines. If any man, from the openness with which I express my sentiments, shall accuse me of being attached to the principles of the Unitarians, or of being inimical to the constitution of the Church of England, I shall never condescend to give any other answer to his calumny than what I now give; and I plainly tell him, that he does me wrong. I am attached to the word of God, and I am an enemy to whatever obstructs men in their endeavours to understand it; and if I think that subscription to human articles of faith, is a mean of such obstruction, I am neither singular in my opinion; nor, if I was singular, could I, on that account, change it.

As to a new translation of the Bible, or, which amounts to much the same thing, a proper amendment of the old one; it has of late become a sort of fashion to discourage the idea of attempting it. I must, however, profess, that I see much utility, and no danger whatever in the design. A single sermon would explain, to the most illiterate congregation of Christians in the kingdom, the necessity for undertaking, and the advantage which would attend, the execution of the work. Men of every condition would be no more startled or scandalized at hearing read in the church a new translation of the Lessons, than they were at hearing read a new translation of the Epistles and Gospels on the last revisal of the Liturgy; when the Epistles and Gospels were taken out of our present translation of the Bible, they being read before according to the old. The helps towards a due accomplishment of this work are numerous; for, not to speak particularly of Lowth, Newcome, Blaney, and others, every commentator, either in

our own or in other countries, who has written upon the whole, or on any part of the Bible, since it was last translated into English, might be consulted with advantage: for there are few of them who do not shew many instances in which the meaning of particular words, or the sense of whole passages, have been mistaken, or obscured by former translators. It may not be improper, however, to wait till some works which are now announced to the public, or are speedily expected to be so, are completed.—Dr. *Geddes*'s work (I wish it may meet with due encouragement) will no doubt afford great assistance, whenever a new translation of the Bible for public use shall be undertaken.—Dr. *Symonds*'s "Critical Observations on our present Version of the Gospels and Acts of the Apostles" will be found highly useful. This gentleman, not more eminent for his great learning than for his benevolence and probity, has with much industry and accuracy compared our translation with the most celebrated modern trans-

translations, and shewn, by the comparison, it's excellencies and defects: he has moreover pointed out, with great skill, many grammatical errors in our present translation. Our Bible has been said to be the standard of the English language; whoever wishes to read his Bible freed from obscurity and ambiguity of construction, or to see the standard of our language rendered grammatically correct, will join with me in wishing, that this gentleman will complete his plan, by giving us his "Remarks on the Epistles." —An important work, "A Translation of the New Testament, with Notes justifying the Deviation from the present Translation," is said to be expected from Mr. *Wakefield*. I forbear speaking of the classical knowledge, and the critical *acumen*, of this gentleman; they are known to every scholar, at home and abroad. The giving this intimation of his design, I thought would be acceptable to the public; and I am happy in doing this

justice to the character of a man, whose person I neither know, or ever saw.

In taking leave now, and perhaps for ever, of my Reader, I cannot refrain from expressing my satisfaction, at the glorious prospect of the prevalence of general freedom, and general happiness, which is opening to our view in every part of Europe. The principles of civil and religious liberty are beginning to be every where undertood, in the same enlarged manner, in which they have long been understood by ourselves. The despotism which yet subsists in Europe, will soon be every where changed into lawful rule, and right supremacy. Princes will no longer put their trust in standing armies, but in the affections of their people. Tyrants will become kings. Other nations will acquire the liberty, will then emulate the loyalty, and ultimately enjoy the happiness, of the people of Britain. The writings of the Remonstrants in Holland, and of Mr. *Locke* in England, have established the natural justice,

justice, and the political utility, of religious toleration, not only in those countries, but in all other parts of Europe and America, where they have been properly studied, on the immutable foundation of truth. The fiend of persecution, which for so many ages, in a thousand hideous forms, frightened and tormented the Church of Christ, is at length subdued by *the brightness of his coming*; the true spirit of his religion is at length coming into the hearts of all men; and when it shall have taken full possession, when it shall have wholly driven out the spirit of *Antichrist*, men will either agree in religious opinions, or they will cease not only from punishing, but from disliking one another, on account of their disagreement. It is true, our statute-book still continues to be blackened by the existence of penal laws established against sectaries; but, it is as true, that the hearts of most men, on both sides of the *Tweed*, revolt at the idea of putting them in force. There may be a remnant of bigotry and intolerance in a few churchmen;

there may be a little of the sour *leaven* of non-conformity in a few sectaries; but both of them are kept from doing mischief to mankind, by the general persuasion—that every one who keeps the peace, is answerable in concerns of religion to God, and not to man;—a future and no very distant day will remove from both sides the remaining obstructions to a *comprehension*. One side will think that it does not become their enlarged minds to separate from their brethren in Christ, on account of a few indifferent ceremonies, or of some particularities in the constitution and government of the Church, in themselves not essential parts of a Christian's faith or worship; and the other, with equal liberality, will see reason to relinquish their suspicions, to abandon their jealousies, to be ashamed of the prejudices of their ancestors, and to rejoice in restoring their brethren in society, to the rights of citizens.—It utterly exceeds my sagacity to account for the origin of that religious bigotry, which has, at different times,

times, disgraced every denomination of Christians. I can see a reason, why a man should contend with zeal against Atheists and Deists (though he should not lay aside either his charity or good manners, in contending even with them;) and the reason is a reason of weight; for an admission of their principles would rob him of his strongest, in my opinion (notwithstanding all that has ever been written on the nature of the soul) would rob him of his only hope of immortality—the Truth of the Christian Religion. But why *Episcopalians* and *Presbyterians* should be angry with each other, for not following the same form of church government—why *Calvinists* and *Arminians* should devour one another, for not thinking alike on the *five points*—why *Athanasians* and *Unitarians* should calumniate one another, for not agreeing as to the *quantum* of honour which is to be given to Jesus Christ, when they both agree in believing, that he *is indeed the Christ, the Saviour of the world*—all this quite exceeds my ability to account

account for; I should think it an incredible perversion of understanding, if experience did not shew that it was a fact.

I have now submitted to the public, with great plainness and sincerity, my sentiments on an important subject; and I hope I have done it in a manner which will offend none. All arguments *ad invidiam, ad odium, ad ridiculum*; all *flings*, and *girds*, and *strokes*; all the petty artillery of theological controversy, as neither suited to serious minds, or serious subjects, I have disdained to use. As to the sentiments themselves, I cannot expect that they will be agreeable to all; and they may probably experience the public censures of some. If this should be the case, it may be proper in me (lest my future silence should be misconstrued into a change of sentiment) now to declare—that I do not mean to write any more on this subject.—The *Considerations*, if they are proper, will not stand in need of my support; and if they are improper, I do not wish

wish that they should either have my support, or that of any other man. I conclude in the words of the ever-memorable *Hales*, of *Eton:* "It hath been the common disease of Christians, from the beginning, "not to content themselves with that measure of faith, which God and Scriptures "have expressly afforded us; but, out of "a vain desire to know more than is "revealed, they have attempted to discuss "things, of which we can have no light, "neither from reason or Revelation: "neither have they rested here, but upon "pretence of Church authority, which is "none; or tradition, which for the most "part is but figment; they have peremptorily concluded, and confidently "imposed upon others, a necessity of "entertaining conclusions of that nature. "—Were Liturgies and public forms of "service so framed, as that they admitted "not of particular and private fancies, "but contained only such things, as in "which all Christians do agree, schisms "on opinion were utterly vanished. *For,*

"*consider*

"consider of all the Liturgies that are, or "ever have been, and remove from them "whatsoever is scandalous to any party, and "leave nothing but what all agree on, and "the event shall be, that the public service "and honour of God shall no ways suffer."

AN

ADDRESS

TO THE

PEOPLE OF GREAT BRITAIN.

1798.

FIFTEENTH EDITION.

MY FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN,

THE sentiments which I shall, in this Address, take the liberty of stating to you on some interesting points, will, I hope, meet with your candid attention; if not from their worth, from the consideration that they are the sentiments of an independent man. I am neither the friend or enemy of any party in the state; and am so far an *impracticable* man, that on all public questions of importance I will follow the dictates of my own individual judgment.

judgment. No favour which I could receive from this or from any Administration would induce me to support measures which I disliked; nor will any neglect I may experience, impel me to oppose measures which I approve.

A new system of finance has this year been introduced; and I fairly own it has my approbation as far as it goes. It has given great discontent to many; but it has given none to me. I lament, as every man must do, the necessity of imposing so heavy a burthen on the community; and, with a family of eight children, I shall feel it's pressure as much as most men: but I am so far from censuring the minister for having done so much, that I sincerely wish he had done a great deal more. In the present situation of Great Britain, and of Europe, palliatives are of no use, half-measures cannot save us. Instead of calling for a tenth of a man's income, I wish the minister had called for a tenth or for such other portion of every man's whole property

property as would have enabled him not merely to make a temporary provision for the war, but to have paid off, in a few years, the whole or the greatest part of the national debt.

A million a year has been wisely set apart for the reduction of the debt; and had we continued at peace, it's operation would have been beneficially felt in a few years: but, in our present circumstances, and with an expectation of the recurrency of war at short periods, it is not one, two, or three millions a year, that can preserve us from bankruptcy. We had better struggle to effect the extinction of the debt in five years than in fifty, though our exertion, during the shorter period, should be proportionably greater.

A nation is but a collection of individuals united into one body for mutual benefit; and a national debt is a debt belonging to every individual, in proportion to the property he possesses; and every individual may be justly called upon for his quota towards the liquidation of it.

it. No man, relatively speaking, will be either richer or poorer by this payment being generally made, for riches and poverty are relative terms: and when all the members of a community are proportionably reduced, the relation between the individuals, as to the *quantum* of each man's property, remaining unaltered, the individuals themselves will feel no elevation or depression in the scale of society. When all the foundations of a great building sink uniformly, the symmetry of the parts is not injured; the pressure on each member remains as it was; no rupture is made: the building will not be so lofty, but it may stand on a better bottom. It does not require an oracle to inform us (though an oracle has said it) that riches have been the ruin of every country; they banish the simplicity of manners, they corrupt the morals, of a people, and they invite invaders. If we pay the national debt, we may not live quite so luxuriously as we have done; but this change will be no detriment either to our virtue as men,

men, or to our safety as members of society.

I consider the property of men united in society so far to belong to the state, that any portion of it may be justly called for by the legislature, for the promotion of the common good; and it is then most equitably called for, when all individuals, possessing property of any kind, contribute in proportion to their possessions. This is a principle so obviously just, that it is attended to as much as possible in every scheme of finance; and it would be the universal rule of taxation, in every country, could the property of individuals be exactly ascertained. Much objection is made to the obliging men to discover the amount of their property; but I have never heard a sufficient reason in support of the objection. I can see a reason why merchants, tradesmen, contractors, money-jobbers, who deal in large speculations on credit, and without an adequate capital, should be unwilling to disclose their property; but I do not so clearly see what

mischief would arise to the community if they were obliged to do it.

The value of every man's landed property is easily known; the value of his monied property in the funds is known; and his monied property in mortgages and bonds might as easily be known, if an act of parliament was passed, rendering no mortgage or bond legal which was not registered. The greatest difficulty would be in ascertaining the value of stock in trade; but a jury of neighbours co-operating with the probity of merchants and manufacturers, and that regard for character which generally distinguishes men in business, would settle that point.

I have lately conversed with a variety of men, in different stations, and in different parts of the kingdom, and have scarcely met with one among the landed gentry, and with none among the manufacturers, tradesmen, farmers, and artificers of the country, who has not declared that he had much rather pay his portion of the principal of the national debt, than be

harassed with the taxes destined for the payment of the interest of it. This is true patriotism, and good sense; and were we in our present circumstances to discharge the whole, or the greatest part of the national debt, all Europe would admire our magnanimity; and France herself would tremble at the idea of subjugating so high-spirited a people.

The minister, I am persuaded, is too enlightened not to have considered this subject; and objections may have occurred to him, which have not occurred to me. I have ventured to state it for general consideration; that it may not be quite new, if we should at length be compelled to have recourse to such an expedient. There would be some difficulty in ascertaining every man's property; but where there is a willing mind to remove difficulties, they are seldom insurmountable. The modifications which the bill for increasing the assessed taxes has undergone, are numerous, and in general judicious; and are a proof that the most

perplexing difficulties yield to impartial and deliberative wisdom.

One modification has not been noticed; at least, I have not seen it stated in so clear a manner as it might be stated; and I will mention it, as not undeserving attention, if the business should ever be resumed in another form.—Permanent income arises either from the rent of land, or from the interest of money, or from an annuity. The annuitants are very numerous in the kingdom. Possessors of entailed estates, widows with jointures, the bishops and clergy, the judges and possessors of patent places during life, the officers of the army and navy, and many others under different denominations, support themselves upon property terminating with their lives. The lives of possessors of annuities may, taking the old and the young together, be worth twelve years purchase. An annuitant, then, who has an income of 100*l.* and no other property, is worth 1200*l.*; so that in paying a tenth of his income, he pays an hundred and twentieth

twentieth part of his whole property. A person possessed of an income of 100 *l.* arising from a property of 2000 *l.* let out at an interest of 5 *l.* per cent, in paying a tenth of his income, pays a two hundredth part of his property. A person possessing an income of 100 *l.* arising from land, in paying a tenth of his income, pays (estimating land at thirty years purchase) a three hundredth part of his property. Men under these different descriptions pay equally, though their properties are unequal in the proportion of six, ten, and fifteen.

Much objection also has on all hands been made to the touching of the funds by taxation: but I own that I do not see any sufficient reason why property in the funds may not be as justly as any other property subject to the disposal of the legislature. I make this observation with perfect impartiality; for a considerable part of the little property I possess is in the funds. Parliament has pledged the nation to the payment of the interest of

the money which has been borrowed, till the principal is paid off; but when the debt is become so great, that the rental of the kingdom will scarcely pay the interest of it, I do not see any breach of contract, any want of equity, in the legislature of the country saying to the public creditor—the possessors of land are giving up a tenth or a twentieth part of all they are worth for the public service; the possessors of houses, of stock in trade, of mortgages and bonds, are doing the same thing—what reason can be given why you should be exempted?—You plead the faith of Parliament. Be it so! Parliament preserves it's faith with you; for if Parliament should with one hand pay you your principal, it might lay hold of it with the other, and make you as liable as other men possessing money, to pay your proportion. And does it not come to the same thing, whether your whole principal is paid, and a portion of it is taken back again, or whether your principal is diminished by that portion, and you receive the

the stipulated interest, till the remainder is discharged?

Frederick II. in speaking of France about twenty years ago, observed, that there were three things which hindered France from re-assuming that ascendency in the affairs of Europe, which she had possessed from the time of Henry IV.—the enormity of her debt—exhausted resources—and taxes multiplied in an excessive manner. The two last are the offspring of the first. But the Monarch's observation is applicable to every other nation under the same circumstances, and to ourselves as well as to others. If we pay our debt by judicious instalments, we shall neither run the risk of the government being broken up, as it was in France, by the discontents of the people, and an inability to go on; nor shall we cripple our commerce by the high price of labour and provisions; nor shall we be depopulated by emigrations to America or France; but we shall preserve the importance we possess in Europe, and renovate

the strength and vigour of the body politic.

But I will not detain you longer on this point; there is another, of great importance, to which I wish to turn your attention.

Whatever doubts I formerly entertained, or (notwithstanding all I have read or heard on the subject) may still entertain, either on the justice or the necessity of commencing this war in which we are engaged, I entertain none on the present necessity and justice of continuing it. Under whatever circumstances the war was begun, it is now become just; since the enemy has refused to treat, on equitable terms, for the restoration of peace. Under whatever circumstances of expediency or inexpediency the war was commenced, it's continuance is now become necessary; for what necessity can be greater than that which arises from the enemy having threatened us with destruction as a nation?

Here

Here I may, probably, be told that, allowing the war to be just, it is still not necessary, but perfectly inexpedient. I may have it rung in my ears, that the French are an overmatch for us; that it is better to submit at once to the most ignominious terms of peace, than to see another *Brennus* weighing out the bullion of the Bank, and insulting the misery of the nation with a "woe to the vanquished." I admit the conclusion of the alternative to be just, but I do not admit the truth of the principle from which it is derived —I do not admit that the French are an overmatch for us.

I am far enough from affecting knowledge in military matters; but every man knows that men and money are the sinews of war, and that victory in the field is achieved by the valour of troops and the skill of commanders. Now in which of these four particulars is France our superior? You will answer at once, she is superior in the number of men. The population, I know, of the two countries has

has been generally estimated in the proportion of three to one: but though this should be admitted to have been the true proportion of the population, and of the men capable of bearing arms, in the beginning of the war, I think it is not the true proportion at present. Both countries have lost great numbers; but France, instead of losing three times, has, I apprehend, lost above ten times as many men as we have done; so that the proportion of men capable of bearing arms remaining in France, compared with what Great Britain can furnish, does not, I am persuaded, exceed that of two to one. And, were there even a bridge over the channel, France durst not make an incursion with half her numbers. She knows how ready her neighbours would be to revenge the injuries they have sustained,—how ready her own citizens would be to regain the blessings they have lost, could they once see all her forces occupied in a distant country. France, I repeat it, were there even a bridge from Calais to Dover,

could

could not send into the field as many men as we could oppose against her.

But, it may be urged, all the men in France are soldiers—No; some are left to till the ground, some to sustain the languors of her commerce, some to perish in prison, deploring the misery of their country. So many, I acknowledge, are become soldiers in France, that we must, in a great degree, imitate her example. Every man who can be spared from the agriculture, the manufactures, and the commerce of the country, must become a soldier, if we mean to face the enemy in a proper manner, if empire or servitude are to be fairly fought for.

As to money, I need not enter into any comparative discussion on that head. France has no means within herself of providing for her armies—She intends to send them into this country, either that she may pay them, as she has done in Italy, by plunder, or, in the true spirit of despair, cancel her debts, by sacrificing the persons of her soldiers.

With

With respect to the valour of the French troops, I have nothing to object. I know it is a favourite opinion with many, that the French are now what their ancestors were in the time of Cæsar; "that in the *first* onset they are more than men, but in the *second* less than women." But it appears to me, I must confess, that in this war the French have sustained with courage *many onsets*:—praise is due to the gallantry even of an enemy. But if I were asked, whether an equal number of Englishmen would beat these conquerors of Italy, I would answer, as an English ambassador answered a King of Prussia, when, at a review of his forces, he asked the ambassador, "whether he thought that an equal number of Englishmen could beat his Prussians?" "I cannot tell (replied the ambassador) whether an equal number would beat them; but I am certain half the number would try."—I have the firmest confidence that fifty thousand Englishmen, fighting for their wives and children, for their liberty and property,

property, as individuals, for the independence and constitution of their country, would, without hesitation, attack an hundred thousand Frenchmen.

As to the relative skill of the commanders, it would ill become me to give any opinion upon that point. If I were to admit that the French generals are not inferior to our own in martial ability, yet in the local knowledge of the country, and in the correctness and fidelity of the information they will receive, ours will certainly have the advantage.

But if the French are not our superiors, either in men or money, in the valour of their soldiers, or the skill of their commanders, what have we to apprehend, should we be forced to fight them on our own ground? A thousand evils, no doubt, attend a country becoming the seat of war, to which we are strangers, and to which, through the good providence of God, and the energy of our navy, we shall long, I trust, continue strangers. But should the matter happen otherwise,

should

should the enemy, by any untoward accident, land their forces, I see no reason why we should despair of our country, if we are only faithful to ourselves, if, forgetting all party animosity, we stand collected as one man against them.

Many honest men, I am sensible, have been alarmed into a belief, that were the French to invade this country, they would be joined by great numbers of discontented men. This is not my opinion. That they would be joined by a few of the worst men in the country, by thieves and robbers, and outcasts of society, is probable enough; but that any individual, possessing either property or character, that any respectable body of men, would so far indulge their discontents, as to ruin their country and themselves, in gratifying their resentment, is what nothing but experience can convince me of.

I have heard of a Dissenter in Yorkshire (a man of great wealth and estimation) who, on the last rejection of the petition for the repeal of the Test Act, declared that

that he would go all lengths to carry his point. But I consider this declaration as made during the irritation of the moment, and as opposite to the general principles of that body of men. The Dissenters have on trying occasions shewn their attachment to the House of Brunswick and the principles of the Revolution; and I should think myself guilty of calumny, if I should say that they had in any degree abandoned either their attachment or their principles, or were disposed to join the invaders of their country.

There is another set of men, whom it seems the fashion of the day to represent as enemies of the state, to stigmatize as republicans, levellers, jacobins. But vulgar traduction of character, party-coloured representation of principle, make no impression on my mind; nor ought they to make any impression on yours. The most respectable of those who are anxious for the reform of parliament have not, in my judgment, any views hostile to the constitution. They may, perhaps, be

mistaken

mistaken in believing an effectual reform practicable, without a revolution; but few of them, I am persuaded, would be disposed to attain their object with such a consequence accompanying it; and fewer still would wish to make the experiment under the auspices of a French invader.

There may be some real republicans in the kingdom; their number, I am convinced, is extremely small; and they are, probably, republicans more in theory than practice; they are, probably, of the same sentiments with the late Dr. Price, who, being asked a few months before his death, whether he really wished to see a republic established in England, answered in the negative. "He preferred (he said) a "republican to a monarchical form of "government, when the constitution was "to be formed anew, as in America; but, "in old established governments, such as "England, he thought the introduction of "a republic would cost more than it was "worth, would be attended with more "mischief than advantage."

I have

I have a firm persuasion that the French will find themselves disappointed, if they expect to be supported in their expedition by the discontented in this country. They have already made a trial; the event of it should lower their confidence; the Welsh, of all denominations, rushed upon their Gallic enemies, with the impetuosity of ancient Britons; they discomfited them in a moment; they covered them with shame, and led them into captivity. The common people in this fortunate Island, enjoy more liberty, more consequence, more comfort of every kind, than the common people of any other country; and they are not insensible of their felicity; they will never erect the tree of liberty. They know it by it's fruit; the bitter fruit of slavery, of contempt, oppression and poverty to themselves, and probably to their posterity.

If Ireland is the object of invasion, France may flatter herself, perhaps, with the expectation of being more favourably received there than in Great Britain: but

I trust she will be equally disappointed in both countries. I mean not to enter into the politics of Ireland; but, considering her as a sister kingdom, I cannot wholly omit adverting to her situation.

I look upon England and Ireland as two bodies which are grown together, with different members and organs of sense, but nourished by the circulation of the same blood: whilst they continue united they will live and prosper; but if they suffer themselves to be separated by the force or cunning of an enemy; if they quarrel and tear themselves asunder, both will instantly perish. Would to God, that there were equity and moderation enough among the nations of the earth, to suffer small states to enjoy their independence. But the history of the world is little else than the history of great states sacrificing small ones to their avarice or ambition; and the present designs of France, throughout Europe, confirm the observation. If Ireland so far listens to her resentment (however it has originated)

against

against this kingdom, if she so far indulges her chagrin against her own legislature, as to seek for redress by throwing herself into the arms of France; she will be undone, her freedom will be lost, she will be sunk in the scale of nations: instead of flourishing under the protection of a sister that loves her, she will be fettered as a slave to the feet of the greatest despot that ever afflicted human kind—to the feet of French democracy.

Let the mal-contents in every nation of Europe look at Holland, and at Belgium. Holland was an hive of bees; her sons flew on the wings of the wind to every corner of the globe, and returned laden with the sweets of every climate. Belgium was a garden of herbs, the oxen were strong to labour, the fields were thickly covered with the abundance of the harvest.—Unhappy Dutchmen! You will still toil, but not for your own comfort; you will still collect honey, but not for yourselves; France will seize the hive as often as your industry shall have filled it.

Ill-judging Belgians! you will no longer eat in security the fruits of your own grounds; France will find occasion, or will make occasion, to participate largely in your riches; it will be more truly said of yourselves than of your oxen, "You plough the fields, but not for your own profit!"

France threatens us with the payment of what she calls a debt of indemnification; and the longer we resist her efforts to subdue us, the larger she says this debt will become; and she tells us, that all Europe knows that this debt must be paid one time or other.—And does she think that this flourish will frighten us? It ought to move our contempt, it ought to fire us with indignation, and, above all, it ought to instruct every man amongst us what we are to expect, if, through supineness, cowardice, or division, we suffer her mad attempt to prove successful. She may not murder or carry into slavery the inhabitants of the land; but, under the pretence of indemnification, she will demand

demand millions upon tens of millions; she will beggar every man of property, and reduce the lower orders to the condition of her own peasants and artificers—black bread, onions, and water.

France wishes to separate the people from the throne; she inveighs, in harsh language, against the King, and the cabinet of Saint James's; and speaks fairly to the people of the land. But the people of the land are too wise to give heed to her professions of kindness. If there be a people in Europe on whom such practices are lost, it is ourselves. All our people are far better educated, have far juster notions of government, far more shrewdness in detecting the designs of those who would mislead them, than the people of any other country have, not excepting Swisserland itself. There is no cause to fear that French hypocrisy should be superior to British sagacity. Let France approach us with the courage of a lion, or with the cunning of a fox, we are equally prepared to meet her; we can

resist her arms, and we can expose her artifice.

France reproaches us with being the tyrants of the ocean; and we all remember the armed neutrality, which was entered into by the maritime states of Europe during the American war. It originated, as was said, from our assuming a dominion on the seas, which the law of nations did not allow. I cannot enter into the discussion of this question here; and it is less necessary to do it any where, as it has been ably discussed many years ago. I sincerely hope the accusation against us is not just; for no tyranny either can be, or ought to be lasting. I am an utter enemy to all dominion founded in mere power, unaccompanied with a just regard to the rights of individuals or nations. Continental states, however, ought to make some allowance for our zeal in claiming, and our energy in maintaining, a superiority at sea; our insular situation gives us a right which they cannot plead; they have fortresses for their defence against

their

their enemies; but fleets are the fortresses of Great Britain.

We wish to preserve our superiority at sea, for our own advantage, but other nations are not uninterested in our doing it. If by the voluntary assistance of Spain and Holland, by the constrained concurrence of what was Venice, by the improvident acquiescence of Russia, Sweden, Denmark, and the other naval powers of Europe or America, the trident of the ocean (for some one nation must possess it) should be transferred from Great Britain to France, they will all have cause to lament it's having exchanged it's master. They may at present think otherwise, and be pleased with the prospect of our humiliation (I speak not this as if I thought that humiliation would happen, for no man has an higher confidence in our navy than I have) but I speak it with a prophetic warning to those nations, that they may see the error of their politics before it becomes impossible to retrieve it. If France becomes as great by sea

as she is become by land, Europe will have no hope, but that her chains may be light.

The channels of commerce, were they open alike to the enterprise of all nations, are so numerous and copious in the four quarters of the globe, that the industry of all the manufacturers in Europe might be fully employed in supplying them. America is doubling her numbers, and will for many years want supplies from the manufactories of Great Britain. Africa will in time civilize her millions, and afford for centuries a market for the commodities of all Europe. What folly is it then in civilized, what wickedness in christian states, to be engaged every ten or twenty years in destroying millions of men, for the protection or the acquisition of arbitrary monopolies!

There still remains another subject which I am most anxious to recommend to your serious consideration—the attempts of bad men to rob you of your religion.

It

It is now somewhat more than seventy years, since certain men, who esteemed themselves philosophers, and who, unquestionably, were men of talents, began in different parts of the Continent, but especially in France and Germany, to attack the Christian religion. The design has been carried on by them and others, under various denominations, from that time to the present hour. In order to accomplish their end, they have published an infinity of books, some of them distinguished by wit and ridicule, unbecoming the vast importance of the subject; and all stuffed with false quotations and ignorant or designed misrepresentations of scripture, or filled with objections against human corruptions of faith, and for which Christianity cannot be accountable.

A similar attempt, I have reason to believe, has for some years been carrying on amongst ourselves, and by the same means. Irreligious pamphlets have been circulated with great industry, sold at a small price, or given away to the lowest

of

of the people, in every great town in the kingdom. The profane style of these pamphlets is suited to the taste of the wicked, and the confident assertions which they contain are well calculated to impose on the understanding of the unlearned; and it is among the wicked and the ignorant that the enemies of religion and government are endeavouring to propagate their tenets.

It is here supposed that the enemies of religion are also the enemies of government; but this must be understood with some restriction. There are, it may be said, many deists in this country, who are sensible of the advantages of a regular government, and who would be as unwilling as the most orthodox believers in the kingdom, that our own should be overturned—this may be true—but it is true also, that they who wish to overthrow the government are not only, generally speaking, unbelievers themselves, but that they found their hopes of success in the infidelity of the common people. They

are sensible that no government can long subsist, if the bulk of the people have no reverence for a Supreme Being, no fear of perjury; no apprehension of futurity, no check from conscience; and foreseeing the rapine, devastation, and bloodshed, which usually attend the last convulsions of a state struggling for it's political existence, they wish to prepare proper actors for this dreadful catastrophe, by brutalizing mankind; for it is by religion, more than by any other principle of human nature, that men are distinguished from brutes.

The mass of the people has, in all ages and countries, been the mean of effectuating great revolutions, both good and bad. The physical strength of the bulk of a nation is irresistible, but it is incapable of self-direction. It is the instrument, which wise, brave, and virtuous men use for the extinction of tyranny, under whatever form of government it may exist; and it is the instrument also, which men of bad morals, desperate

fortunes, and licentious principles, use for the subversion of every government, however just in it's origin, however equitable in it's administration, however conducive to the ends for which society has been established among mankind. It is against the machinations of these men, secret or open, solitary or associated, that I wish to warn you; they will first attempt to persuade you that there is nothing after death, no heaven for the good, no hell for the wicked, that there is no God, or none who regards your actions; and when you shall be convinced of this, they will think you properly prepared to perpetrate every crime which may be necessary for the furtherance of their own designs, for the gratification of their ambition, their avarice, or their revenge.

No civil, no ecclesiastical constitution, can be so formed by human wisdom, as to admit of no improvement upon an increase of wisdom; as to require no alteration, when an alteration in the knowledge, manners, opinions, and circumstances

cumstances of a people, has taken place. But men ought to have the modesty to know for what they are fitted, and the discretion to confine their exertions to subjects of which they have a competent knowledge.

There is perhaps little difference in the strength of memory, in the acuteness of discernment, in the solidity of judgment, in any of the intellectual powers on which knowledge depends, between a statesman and a manufacturer, between the most learned divine and a mechanic: the chief difference consists in their talents being applied to different subjects. All promote both the public good, and their own, when they act within their proper spheres; and all do harm to themselves, and others, when they go out of them. You would view with contempt a statesman, who should undertake to regulate a great manufactory, without having been brought up to business; or a divine, who should become a mechanic, without having learned his trade. But is not a mechanic,

or manufacturer, still more mischievous and ridiculous, who affects to become a statesman, or to solve the difficulties which occur in divinity? Now this is precisely what the men I am cautioning you against, wish you to do—they harangue you on the disorders of our constitution, and propose remedies; they propound to you subtleties in metaphysics and divinity, and desire you to explain them; and because you are not prepared to do this, or to answer all their objections to our government, they call upon you to reject religion, natural and revealed, as impostures, and to break up the constitution of the country, as an enormous mass of incurable corruption.

No one, I trust, will suspect the Writer of contending, that great abuses in church or state ought to be perpetuated, or of wishing that any one dogma of our holy religion should not be discussed with decent freedom (for the more religion is tried, the more it will be refined;) but he does contend, that the faith of unlearned

christians

christians ought not to be shaken by lies and blasphemies; he does contend, that it is better to tolerate abuses, till they can be reformed by the counsels of the wisest and the best men in the kingdom, than to submit the removal of them to the frothy frequenters of alehouses, to the discontented declaimers against our establishment, to the miserable dregs of the nation, who seek for distinction in public confusion. An ancient fabric may by mere force be defaced and thrown down; but it requires the knowledge and caution of an architect to beautify and repair it. You are sensible that the most ingenious piece of mechanism may be spoiled by the play of a child, or broken to pieces by the blow of an idiot or a madman; and can you think that the machine of government, the most ingenious and complicated of all others, may not at once be despoiled of all it's elegance, and deprived of all it's functions, by the rude and bungling attempts of the unskilful to amend it's motion?

I have

I have not time to lay before you the rise and progress of that infidelity with respect to revealed religion—of that scepticism with respect to natural religion—of that insanity with respect to government—which have, by their combined influence, overwhelmed with calamity one of the mightiest states in Europe, and which menace with destruction every other. I have not time to shew you, by detailed quotations from the writings of the French and German philosophers—that the superstition of the church of Rome made them infidels—that a misapprehension of the extent of human knowledge made them sceptics—and that the tyranny of the continental governments made them enemies of all government, except of that silly system of democratic liberty and equality, which never has had, nor ever can have, a permanent establishment amongst mankind.

Though I cannot, in this short and general address, enter fully or deeply into these matters, I may be allowed to say to

these

these philosophers—How has it happened, that men of your penetration, in shunning one vice, have fallen, like fools, into it's opposite? Does it follow that Jesus Christ wrought no miracles, because the church of Rome has pretended to work many? Does it follow that the Apostles were not honest men, because there have been priests, bishops, and popes, who were hypocrites? Is the Christian religion to be ridiculed as more absurd than Paganism, to be vilified as less credible than Mahometanism, to be represented as impious and abominable—because men, in opposition to every precept of Christ, and to every practice of the Apostles, have worshipped images, prayed to dead men, believed in transubstantiation, granted indulgencies, erected inquisitions, and roasted honest men alive for not complying with their superstition?

With respect to natural religion, I would say to them—You complain that you cannot comprehend the creation of the

universe, nor the providence of God; and is this, your want of ability to become as wise as your Maker, a reason for doubting whether there ever was a creation, and whether there is a Providence? What should you think of a nest of reptiles, which, being immured in a dark corner of one of the lowest apartments of a magnificent house, should affect to argue against the house having ever been built, or it's being then taken care of. You are those reptiles, with respect to your knowledge of the time when God created, and the manner in which he still takes care of the world.—You cannot, you tell us, reconcile the omniscience of God with the freedom of man—Is this a reason for your doubting of the freedom which you feel you possess, or of the power of God to understand the nature of what he has made?—You cannot comprehend how it is possible for an immaterial being to be acted upon by material organs of sense—Will you therefore deny the existence of your

your soul, as a substance distinct from your body? do you not perceive that it must equally surpass your understanding, how matter, acting upon matter, can produce any thing but motion; can give rise to perception, thought, will, memory, to all those intellectual powers, by which arts and sciences are invented and indefinitely improved?

With respect to government, I would say to them—admitting that there is a natural equality amongst mankind, does it follow that there may not be, or that there ought not to be, an instituted inequality? Admitting that men, before they enter into society, are free from the dominion of each other, does it follow that they may not voluntarily relinquish the liberty of a state of nature, in order that they may enjoy the comfort and obtain the security of a state of society? Can there be no just government, because there is and has been much oppression in the world, no political freedom in Great

Britain, because there was, during the monarchy, little in France; where there is, probably, still less than there was? Does it follow that there ought to be no distinctions in society, with respect to rank or riches, because there are none in a state of nature; though nature herself has made a great difference amongst the individuals of our species, as to health, strength, judgment, genius, as to all those powers which, either in a state of nature or society, necessarily become the causes and occasions of the superiority of one man over another? Does it follow that rich men ought to be plundered, and men of rank degraded, because a few may be found in every state who have abused their pre-eminence, or misapplied their wealth? In a word, does it follow that there ought to be no religion, no government, no subordination amongst men, because religion may degenerate into superstition, government into tyranny, and subordination into slavery?—As reasonably

ably might it be argued, that there ought to be no wine, because some men may become drunkards; no meat, because some men may become gluttons; no air, no fire, no water, because these natural sources of general felicity may accidentally become instruments of partial calamity.

He who peruses with attention the works of those foreigners, who for the last seventy or eighty years have written against revealed or natural religion, and compares them with the writings of our English Deists towards the end of the last and the beginning or middle of the present century, will perceive that the former have borrowed all their arguments and objections from the latter; he will perceive also, that they are far inferior to them in learning and acuteness, but that they surpass them in ridicule, in audacity, in blasphemy, in misrepresentation, in all the miserable arts by which men are wont to defend a bad cause; they surpass them too in their mischievous endeavours to

disseminate their principles amongst those who, from their education, are least qualified to refute their sophistry.

Justly may we call their reasoning sophistry, since it was not able to convince even themselves. One of the most eminent of them, (Voltaire) who had been a Theist, a Materialist, a disbeliever of a future state all his days, asked with evident anxiety a few years before his death, Is there a God such as men speak of? Is there a soul such as people imagine? Is there any thing to hope for after death? He seems to have been consistent in nothing, but in his hatred of that Gospel which would have enlightened the obscurity in which he was involved, and at once dissipated all his doubts. As to his notions of government, he appears to have been as unsettled in them as in his religious sentiments; for, though he had been one of the most zealous apostles of liberty and equality, though he had attacked monarchical governments in all his writings

with

with great bitterness—yet he at last confessed to one of the greatest princes then in Europe, "that he did not love "the government of the lowest orders—"that he did not wish the re-establish-"ment of Athenian democracy."

Such are the inconsistencies of men, who, by their profane disputation against religion, have disturbed the consciences of individuals; who, by their senseless railing against government, have endangered the tranquillity of every nation in Europe! And it is against such men I warn you.

Are any of you oppressed with poverty, disease, and wretchedness? Let none of these men beguile you of your belief that "God is, and that he is the rewarder of "them that diligently seek him,"—"the "protector of them that trust in him."—Are any of you afflicted in mind, despairing of mercy through the multitude of your sins? Let none of these men stagger your persuasion, that the Gospel is true;

for therein you will read that "Jesus "Christ came into the world to save sin- "ners"—repent, and the Gospel will give you consolation. Are any of you prosperous in your circumstances, and easy in your consciences? Let none of these men, by declaiming against defects in our constitution, or abuses in government, betray you into an opinion, that were the present order of things overturned, a better might, by their counsels, be established; for, by their counsels, you would either be plundered of your property, or compelled to become their accomplices in impiety and iniquity. See what has happened in France to all orders, to the common people as well as to the nobility. "The little finger of their republic has "become thicker, more oppressive to "the whole nation, than the loins of "their monarchy; they were chastised "with whips, they are chastised with "scorpions."

I am

I am not altogether insensible of the danger I may have incurred (should matters come to extremity) by thus publicly addressing my Countrymen. I might have concealed my sentiments, and waited in retirement, till the struggle had been over, and the issue known; but I disdain safety accompanied with dishonour. When Hannibal is at the gates, who but a poltron would listen to the timid counsels of neutrality, or attempt to screen himself from the calamity coming on his country, by skulking as a vagabond amid the mountains of Wales or of Westmoreland? I am ready, and I am persuaded that I entertain a just confidence in saying, that hundreds of thousands of loyal and honest men are as ready as I am, to hazard every thing in defence of the country.

I pray God to influence the hearts of both sides to good will, moderation, and peace: to grant to our enemy grace to return to a due sense of piety and a belief in uncorrupted Christianity; and to impress

press our own minds with a serious sense of the necessity of so repenting of our sins, and so reforming our lives, as may enable us to hope for his protection against all enemies, foreign and domestic.

R. LANDAFF.

London,
June 20, 1798.

THE

SUBSTANCE

OF A

SPEECH

INTENDED TO HAVE BEEN SPOKEN IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS,

NOVEMBER 22d, 1803.

SECOND EDITION.

ADVERTISEMENT.

IT was my full intention to have delivered the Substance of the following Speech in the House of Lords: but perceiving that, as I proceeded in the consideration of the subject, I could not comprehend, in a short speech, all that I wished to observe, and being unwilling to take up the time of the House with my speculations, I have thought fit, in this way, to give my sentiments to the Public. My "Address to the People of Great Britain," in 1798, was thought to do some good; and this Publication may, I sincerely hope, be of some little use: but however that may be, I could not rest satisfied with being considered as a careless, cold, or timid spectator of the common danger.

R. L.

Calgarth-Park,
Nov. 18th, 1803.

SUBSTANCE OF A SPEECH,

&c.

MY LORDS,

IN obedience to His Majesty's commands, and in compliance with my own sense of public duty, I this day appear in my place in the noblest Assembly upon earth, convened by the most gracious Monarch that ever sat upon a throne, and required to deliberate upon the most important subjects that ever occupied your Lordships' attention, or that of any of your predecessors in this House.

I, my Lords, could have been well contented to spend the little remainder of my life in retirement, and buried in obscurity; indifferent, alike, to the calls of professional emolument, and professional ambition: but I cannot be contented to remain indifferent to the summons of my Sovereign,

Sovereign, in a time of distress; deaf to the calls of my country, when it's existence is endangered.—Endangered we all know it to be: but where is the dastardly soul (none such, I am confident, is to be met with amongst your Lordships; none such, I hope, is to be met with amongst any of those in whose hearing I now speak)—where is the dastardly soul, who accompanies his prospect of danger, with a feeling of despair?

Without laying claim to any extraordinary degree of courage, any man, of an advanced age, who has well contemplated the short and slippery course of this world's concerns, may acquire such a firmness of mind, as will enable him to sustain with Stoical fortitude all the vicissitudes of fortune, which may await him; or (to speak in language more appropriate, I am sensible, to your Lordships' principles, more consonant to your feelings, as well as to my own) to acquiesce, with Christian resignation, in every dispensation of God. What cause can such a man ever have for

terror and despair? On such a man (I here see many such)—*Manca ruit semper fortuna.*—The worst that can happen to any individual amongst us, is death; and he who fears to die in the just defence of his country, does not deserve to live in it. I put the matter at the very worst, and that worst is nothing: good men do not dread it, brave men do not shun it, wise men hourly think of it; it terrifies none but bad men and cowards. What ground then for our despair? our cause is good, our conscience on this point is clear—we are not fighting to plunder other men's property, but to protect our own—we are not fighting to subvert the liberty of other nations, but to prevent the yoke of slavery from being fastened on our necks and on those of our posterity—we are not fighting in contempt of national character, in despite of the civil order of the world, in derision of religion, in mockery of Heaven—No! we are fighting, to preserve this happy Land from atheism, from despotism, or anarchy—from that moral con-

contamination of principle and practice, which outrages the very nature of humankind.

But why speak of the worst, when there is little probability of the worst happening? To some, indeed, it must happen; some gallant men must fall in the noble conflict; but that the Nation will be subdued is not to me a probable event. The events of war, we acknowledge it with humility, and we have abundant reason to acknowledge it with gratitude and piety, are in the hands of God. Our duty is to trust the issue of the contest to Him, as if we were not concerned in bringing it about—but it is our duty also to exert our own energy, as if every thing depended on ourselves. And are we not doing this, in a manner and to an extent unheard of in former times, in our own country, and unprecedented in the most illustrious nations of antiquity?

We read of a law in *Sparta*, which made it death for a man to refuse hazarding his life in the defence of his country.—We have

have no such law; but we have something a thousand times better than such a law—we have a British spirit.—That spirit is now roused, it pervades the whole country, it animates the nobility, gentry, yeomanry, all orders and descriptions of men, to do that voluntarily, which even *Spartans* were compelled to do by the fear of punishment. Every city, town, and village, from the Land's End to the Orkney Islands, pours forth it's voluntary legions, in defence of their Country and of their King.

Glorious and unexampled on the surface of the earth is His Majesty's situation!—Other Princes there are, who reign over more extensive regions—other Princes there are, who support their thrones, in times of peace, by more numerous armies; and exercise over their subjects a more unlimited sway—But where is the Prince, in Europe, or in the world, who, in the day of danger, sees himself protected as His Majesty is, by the united efforts of all his people; by the persons of those who are able to wield a weapon; by the prayers

of the aged and of the sex; by the purses of the rich; and by the hearts of all? Surely all this is well—it does honour to the King, it does equal honour to the people. They know for whom and for what they expose their lives—they know that they are not miserable *Conscripts*, driven in chains to be sacrificed on the altar of an ambitious Leader, whom they detest; but loyal subjects, voluntarily encountering danger for a legal and beloved Monarch; and not for Him only, but for themselves; for the preservation of that limited Monarchy, which is the primary source of all the blessings they enjoy, as members of civil society.

Is any one ignorant of these blessings? does any one think that he has nothing to fight for, that his condition is so mean and uncomfortable, that, let what will happen, it cannot become worse under any constitution which may take place? Mistaken man! go and see if thou canst find in France—a trial by jury—an *habeas corpus* act—an incorrupt administration of

justice—an equality of law—a security of life and property—a parochial maintenance for thy orphans and thy widow—and for thyself, when age or accident shall have unnerved the arm of industry? Blessings these! which the meanest Englishman so liberally enjoys, that he is apt to overlook them; which the greatest Frenchmen so eagerly desire, that they will ere long with swords in their hands demand them. The soldiery of France, of Holland, Switzerland, Italy, glutted at length with slaughter, satiated at length with plunder, will, ere long, begin to be ashamed, officers and men, of the part they have acted in this revolutionary tragedy of the world; they will at length make an atonement for the mischief they have done, and snap, at once, the despotic chains, which in a fit of faction, passion, and insanity, they have contributed to impose on their respective countries.

But be this as it may—for there is little certainty in any political prediction, and least of all in mine—permit me to

congratulate your Lordships, and the Nation, on that military ardour which is every where excited. It is every where excited to such a pitch, that were our Generals commissioned to say to their troops, as the Jewish officers were obliged, by the law of Moses, to say to their soldiers before they engaged in battle—"What man is "there that is fearful and faint-hearted, "let him go and retire unto his house," —Not one in an hundred, I think, would retire from their ranks.

It has been said of *Carthage*—that all her citizens were merchants, mindful of nothing but of the acquisition of wealth: —and it has been said of *Rome*—that all her citizens were soldiers, mindful of nothing but of the acquisition of military glory.—The issue of our present struggle will, I trust, teach all future historians to say of Britain, that she united characters hitherto esteemed discordant, and incompatible; and combined for her defence the strength of Carthage and of Rome—that her soldiers were merchants, and her merchants

merchants were soldiers. Had Carthage been, after the second Punic war, what Great Britain now is, the exclamation of *Cato* (which our *modern Catos*, forsooth, have so vociferously adopted) the—*delenda est Carthago*—would have been considered by the Roman Senate as an impudent gasconadé, unworthy of it's attention.

Let our enemies mark the difference between Great Britain and Carthage, to say nothing of that between Rome and France. We are not defended, as Carthage was, by mercenaries, seldom faithful, always uninterested in the event of war, and sparing of their blood—We are not supported, as she was, by tributary states, impatient of our yoke, and watching for an opportunity to throw it off—We are not assisted, as she was, by allies, envious of our prosperity, and secretly hoping to benefit themselves by our downfall—better none, than such allies!—No! we have no mercenary forces, no tributary states, no alliances; but we have more than an equivalent for them all—a free Constitution—

the work of ages! the wonder of the world! the wish of surrounding states! the *palladium* which our ancestors have committed to our custody; which, whilst we possess it, will render us invincible, and which, whilst we have life, we have to a man determined to defend.

Europe, already subdued by her fears, or dishonoured by her hopes, or maddened by resentment for, perhaps, some real, for many fancied, insults on the ocean—on any supposition, Europe now stands aloof, leaves us to ourselves, deserted at our utmost need—So was *Corsica* left; so was *Poland* left; and so, if we are conquered, will every European state be left, in it's turn, till the gigantic military despotism of one nation shall overspread the Globe.

This idea is so forcibly impressed on my mind, that, were I this day standing in the midst of all the cabinets of Europe, I would not scruple to exclaim—Infatuated are your councils! you are all jealous of each other, all envious of us, all occupied in paltry considerations of your own

own particular interests, unmindful of the general safety, blind to the subtle progress of a mighty power, equal already to the strongest of you, daily increasing in strength, and, for a century past, determined to annihilate you all.

What a Frenchman said of the Romans, is so peculiarly characteristic of his countrymen at this time, that I cannot forbear applying it: "Enemies to the liberty of "all nations; having the utmost con- "tempt for kings and monarchy, they "grasped with insatiable ambition the "conquest of the world, they seized in- "discriminately all provinces and king- "doms, and extended their empire over "all nations."

But enough of these tragical forebodings with respect to the mischief impending over other nations:—I beg your Lordships' patience, whilst I shortly mention some of the means which, in addition to our present exertions, may help to avert the catastrophe from ourselves.

In the first place, then, my Lords, I am

of opinion, that the first class of the people, adopting the division prescribed by a late Act of Parliament, should be called out and taught the use of arms, not merely as a temporary expedient to answer the present exigency, but annually continued as a permanent measure of the executive government. Unwise and defective is that policy, which is occupied in devising remedies for present evils, without extending it's views to prevent the recurrence of danger. I readily join in the general praise so justly given to the Volunteers; but this commercial nation ought so far to become a military nation, as always to have within itself a sufficiency of men ready disciplined for it's defence. This may be completely effected for the present occasion in a short time: and when the pressure of the present occasion is removed, it may be established as a permanent measure in the course of six years, without giving any sensible interruption to our agriculture, our manufactures, or our commerce.

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The population of the country would annually supply, at least, fifty thousand youths, who in the preceding twelve months had attained the seventeenth year of their age; in six years we should have three hundred thousand young men sufficiently instructed in the use of arms. In the seventh year, fifty thousand of them might be dismissed, as *emeriti*, from further attendance on military duty, except when the country was invaded. Thus by a slight service of a few days annually for six years, the whole nation (for no substitutes should in this arrangement be allowed) would at length become a nation, not of warriors, but of peaceful citizens, of all occupations and denominations, ready to become warriors, whenever the safety of their country should require the exertion of their skill and courage. Neither France alone, nor France with all Europe in her vassalage, would venture to set a foot on this Island thus prepared to receive them:—Great Britain, single handed, would defy the World.

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I own I prefer this militia rotation, if I may so call it, which I have submitted to your Lordships' consideration, not only to the Volunteering system, but to every other mode of *extraordinary* defence. It would not supersede the standing army, it would be subsidiary to it, and might greatly assist in recruiting the ranks of the regular forces, and perhaps in diminishing their number. Some men are apt to speak of every species of militia force with contempt; this has been always the case. Lord *Clarendon* in one part of his History speaks in a most disparaging style of the London Trained-bands: but he is forced to do them justice in another, where he informs us, that they courageously resisted with their pikes the cavalry of Prince *Rupert*, though led on by himself, and thereby saved the army at the battle of *Newbury*. It was by a force of this kind that the Romans first conquered Italy, and then the world. And, in our time, a force of this kind captured a most gallant army at *Saratoga*, and

and thereby acquired independence for *America*.

I forbear, my Lords, entering into any detail on this subject; the very mention of which may appear to some to be a going beyond my province. But the—*ne sutor ultra crepidam*—the, *tractent fabrilia fabri*—the, let Bishops mind their Bibles—these, and sarcasms such as these, from whatever mouth they may proceed, affect not me; nor ought they to affect any honest man, who is desirous to serve his country by his advice.—The advice may be worth nothing, but your Lordships' candour will, I am persuaded, suffer the rectitude of the speaker's intention to sanctify the imbecility of his judgment.

I rely upon that candour, and proceed to mention a second mean of extricating the country from it's present danger, and of preserving it from all future apprehension of danger. The mean I recommend is—The payment of the national debt, at least of that part which has been added to

to it by the seven years war, by the American war, by the last war, and by this.

This would be an act of magnanimity worthy of ancient Rome—it would exceed that which Rome itself displayed after the battle of *Cannæ*—She expected Hannibal at her gates, but she did not despair; she redoubled her means of defence.—W expect France on our shores to attack us with her forces, or to bankrupt us by expense:—what does Britain? she prepares to resist the forces, and she determines to pay her debt. France will be thunderstruck at her own temerity, in attempting to subdue a Nation possessed of such resources—Europe will be astonished at this noble sacrifice of private wealth to public want—America will rejoice in the vigour of her aged parent—and no nation in the world will dare, for a century to come, to disturb the peace of a people which would have a fresh credit for four or five hundred millions on the commencement of hostilities. I own the idea of paying the national debt swells my heart with

with patriotic pride—I see this truly great nation, instead of being depressed to the earth, instead of succumbing under the weight of it's burdens, erecting itself with firmness and throwing them off; not unjustly transferring them to the backs of the stock-holders alone, making them the only sufferers, but removing them from all. I have sometimes compared, in my own mind, this payment of the debt, to the removal of one of those enormous heaps of small stones which are not unfrequently met with in the mountains of the North; it would break the hearts of a few villagers to be ordered to remove them, but if every individual in the country was ordered to carry away as large a one as he could easily lift, the work would soon be finished; no person could be injured by his share of the labour, and the heap would disappear for ever.

I am not ignorant, my Lords, that he who talks of paying the national debt, is considered as a chimerical projector of impossibilities, a mere state empiric, fitter

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for a seat in the Senate of *Utopia* than of Britain. My opinion is quite different; and whilst it is my opinion, I am not afraid to declare it, nor ashamed of it's singularity! The national debt is an huge imposthume growing on the body politic; you may yet lessen it with safety; but if you suffer it to go on increasing till it bursts, it's rupture will exhaust the strength, if it does not terminate the existence of the patient.

This measure appears to me not only possible, but easily practicable; and not only practicable, but highly useful to the state; and not only highly useful to the state, but profitable to every individual in it paying taxes. It would be highly useful to the state, not only from the effect it would have on the cabinets of Europe; but from two effects especially, which it would have upon ourselves.—It would check the luxury of all ranks; for though luxury may, in a commercial state, be useful to a certain extent, yet it always ends in ruin when carried too far; it debases

debases men's minds, by teaching them to value things not in themselves estimable; and it effeminates their bodies, by habituating them to destructive indulgences. —It would have another and a most important effect—it would preserve to the country the middle class of it's people, whom enormous taxation is daily reducing to the lowest, or compelling to emigration —for, miserable at home, and impotent abroad, will this nation become, when it shall be composed of none but the very rich and the very poor.

The payment of the national debt would, I have said, be profitable to every individual paying taxes—This, at the first view, appears to be a paradoxical assertion; but it is as certain a truth, as that every man is richer who sells part of his property to pay his debts, than he would be if he made a fresh mortgage upon it every year, by which, in addition to the interest of his debt, he would have an attorney's bill to discharge. A considerable portion of the tax which any man now

now pays to Government never reaches the exchequer of the kingdom. I don't mean, by this observation, to cast any imputation of dishonour upon men engaged in the management of taxes, and of the public revenue; they are necessary parts of the great machine of government, and are very properly paid for their services; my wish is, that by paying the debt, and taking off the taxes imposed for the payment of the interest of it, the services of such men might be less wanted.

I proposed, my Lords, this subject to public consideration five years ago, in my "Address to the People of Great Britain," (of which publication, by the bye, above thirty thousand copies were dispersed in Great Britain and Ireland, with what effect to the public it becomes not me to say) and I will not trouble your Lordships with a repetition of what I stated in that Address. One thing only I think it very important to recommend, if ever the measure itself, or an efficacious approximation to the measure, should be adopted,

—that

—that it be extended to every class and to every individual in the Kingdom possessing property, in a just proportion to what he possesses. The true principle of Taxation seems to me to be this—That every man should pay for the protection of his property by the state, in exact proportion to the value of the property protected; just as merchants, who risk their goods on board a vessel, pay an insurance in proportion to the value of the goods insured.—This is so plain and equitable a principle, that every man is capable of understanding it, and no one is able, on reasonable grounds, to object to it. I at least never yet met with a person worth an hundred pounds, who, when the question was put to him (and I have put it to many), did not acknowledge it to be perfectly right, that he should pay one or two pounds out of his hundred towards the liquidation of the national debt, provided that every man worth an hundred thousand pounds paid one or two thousand pounds for the same

purpose. Common people are as acute as their superiors in distinguishing between justice and oppression; and I think so well of human nature in general, as to believe that there is in all classes such a respect for justice, that no statesman need fear to propose to his country any measure founded on the basis of justice, and evidently become necessary for the preservation of the state.

The principle here mentioned, is as applicable to our present mode of raising the supplies, as it is to the payment of the national debt; and were it adopted, the supplies would be far more abundant.—I have never yet heard a substantial reason given, why the taxation should stop at a property of sixty, or even of ten pounds a year. A man of ten pounds a year is as able to pay (I mean with as little privation of *his* comforts) ten shillings annually, as a man of five hundred a year is to pay five hundred shillings. If we trace the matter to the bottom, and speak of luxuries, as distinguished from neces-

saries,

saries, we shall find every thing comparatively speaking to be a luxury. Bread is a luxury to those who feed on the bark of trees; beer is a luxury to him whose beverage has been water; wine is a luxury to him whose ordinary beverage is beer; and a Savage in America with a blanket on his shoulders, is a man of luxury, compared with his neighbour who has none. Our inimitable Bard has expressed this idea in better language than I can use, where he introduces Lear arguing with his daughter about what was *needful* for his state—

> O, reason not the need: our basest beggars
> Are in the poorest thing superfluous;
> Allow not Nature more than Nature needs,
> Man's life is cheap as beast's.—

What portion of each man's property may be requisite for the discharge of the national debt, by instalments in the course of four or five years, cannot at present, I think, be ascertained with any degree of certainty. I have seen calculations of the property of the kingdom in land, houses, money, cattle, merchan-

dise, &c.; but the *data* on which these calculations were founded, were too arbitrarily assumed to render the conclusion unexceptionable. But whether an hundredth, or a fiftieth, or a twenty-fifth part of the whole should be required, I am clearly of opinion that no man of good sense would murmur at the payment of it, when he considered that such payment would not only save the state, but be a pecuniary saving to himself. A pecuniary saving to a man's self, is a circumstance likely to arrest the attention of every individual; though, in truth, the saving of the country is an object of more importance, as it comprises every other. For if the country is subdued, its freedom will be lost; and with its freedom, will perish its ingenuity, its industry, its commercial enterprise, and its martial spirit—all the copious sources of domestic happiness, and of national consequence, will be choked up for ever.

I have yet, my Lords, to beg your indulgence, whilst I briefly mention two other

other subjects—they are subjects of great importance and of difficult discussion; but as I mean to hint them for consideration, rather than to press them on the Government for decision, and have no wish to anticipate public wisdom on either of them, I must take the liberty to mention them, especially as they have both of them been long and seriously considered by me. The two subjects I mean to touch upon are, the state of the Catholics in Ireland, and the state of the Dissenters in England.

With respect to Ireland, I declared my opinion of its situation when the Union was debated in this House. I said then, and I have seen no reason since to change my opinion, that the Union would be more advantageous to Ireland than it would be to Great Britain, and that it would be eminently useful to them both. And notwithstanding the treasonable combinations which exist in Ireland, I believe this to be the opinion of a great majority of the Irish people; and that France will be exceedingly disappointed in her

expectations of a general rising of the Catholics in her favour, should She land any forces in that country.

One of the most able and active instigators of rebellion amongst them, declared, at a time when men are most disposed to disguise nothing, that he deprecated all connexion with France, and I give full credit to his declaration. Whatever might have been the designs of him and others, when they first united for the purpose of rebellion, they could not be ignorant of, or insensible to what had happened to Holland, Switzerland, Italy —to every country which had received the fraternal embrace of France—they could not but know, that it chilled, like the embrace of death, those whom it touched; that it stiffened with horror and suspicion all the mild charities, and paralysed all the noble energies of social life. What was it then that moved these unhappy men to undertake so wicked and so dangerous an enterprise? Was it a mistaken sense of honour (to speak of

it in the gentlest terms)? Did they wish to render themselves illustrious, by rendering their country independent, and unconnected with us or any other nation? Wild ambition! idle expectation! improvident policy! which aimed at an object not attainable, in the present state of Europe, and disadvantageous to Ireland, if attained. Did they unite to redress the grievances under which they imagined their country laboured? They ought to have remembered, that Ireland has been treated with more indulgence (I do not say with more than she deserved) but with more indulgence during the present reign, than during any other equal period of time since her connexion with Great Britain; and they ought particularly to have considered that the Union was intended (and it's intention will, I do not doubt, be finally accomplished) to remove every shadow of grievance which remained.

One circumstance in the situation of Ireland has always appeared to me an

hardship, and that hardship still remains undiminished. I have always thought it an hardship, that a great majority of the Irish people should be obliged, at their own expence, to provide religious teachers for themselves and their families. I have the copy of a letter, in my possession, to the Duke of Rutland, when lord lieutenant of Ireland, in which I pressed upon his consideration, the propriety of making a provision for the Catholic bishops and clergy in that country; and I have been assured by men, well acquainted with the temper of the Irish, that had such a measure been then judiciously adopted, a rebellion would have been avoided, and Ireland would long ago have been tranquillized. Whether the time for trying such a mean of tranquillization be now so passed that it cannot be recalled, I know not; but whether it be so passed or not, the measure itself, being founded in justice, is not unworthy the consideration of government. I love, my Lords, to have politics, on all occasions, founded

on

on substantial justice, and never on apparent temporary expedience, in violation of justice; and it does appear to me to be just—that the religious teachers of a large majority of a state should be maintained at the public expence.

If you would make men good subjects, deal gently with their errors; give them time to get rid of their prejudices; and especially take care to leave them no just ground for complaint. Men may for a time be inflamed by passion, or may mistake their pertinacity for a virtue, or may be misled by bad associates; but leave them no just ground of complaint, and their aberrations from rectitude of public conduct will never be lasting; truth and justice, though occasionally obstructed in their progress, never fail at length to produce their proper effect.

Justice, I think, may be done to the Catholics, without injustice being done to the Protestants.—The protestant clergy may continue to possess the tithes of the country; and the catholic clergy may be provided

provided for from the public exchequer of the Empire. I see no danger which would arise to the Established Church, from some such arrangement as this; and it would, probably, be attended with the greatest advantage to the state. We think the Catholics to be in an error; they think the same of us; both ought to reflect that, every error is not a criminal error, and that their error is the greatest, who most err against Christian charity.

If any one should contend that this is not the time for Government to make concessions to Ireland—I wish him to consider, whether there is any time in which it is improper for either individuals or nations to do justice, any season improper for extinguishing animosity, any occasion more suitable than the present, for putting an end to heart-burnings and internal discontent. I should be as averse as any man from making concessions to an enemy invading the country; but I would do much to gain a cordial friend to assist me in driving him back;—and

such a friend, I am confident, Ireland will become.

I come to the last point—the case of the Dissenters.—I am well aware that on this point I differ in opinion from men whom I esteem. But without arrogating to myself, without allowing to others, any infallibility of judgment, I am anxious, in this crisis of our fate, to speak my whole mind. What I presume to recommend is—a repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts—as a mean of combining together, in the cords of mutual amity and confidence, the whole strength and spirit of the country. It has been said, that the Dissenters constitute above a fifth part of the population of the kingdom; I do not think them to be so numerous; but I am convinced that they are too loyal to be treated with distrust at any time, and too numerous to be soured by neglect at this time. I am far from insinuating that the Dissenters want to be bribed to their duty by the repeal of the Test Act; no, my Lords,

Lords, Churchmen and Dissenters of every denomination, are equally zealous in the common cause—they seem to me to emulate the patriotism of the patricians and plebeians at Rome; who, for five hundred years, waged an eternal war of words about their respective rights, claims, oppressions, privileges,—but when their country was in danger, when an enemy invaded their territory, they laid aside their disputes; their only contention then was, which of them could show the greatest courage in repulsing the enemy of them both.

I have never had any design, any wish, my Lords, to gain the good-will of the Dissenters, by becoming a champion in their cause—much less have I any inclination to provoke the ill-will of Churchmen, and the disesteem of my Brethren, by a forward display, or a froward retention, of an opinion opposite to their's. I may be wrong in thinking that the repeal of the Test Act would in no degree endanger the safety of either the

the church or state; but whilst I do think so, I should act a timid, interested, dishonourable part, if I concealed my sentiments.

I will mention to your Lordships an anecdote respecting this matter; for the truth of which I pledge my honour, and, in doing that I hope I may be permitted to expect full credit from the House. When the Dissenters a second time petitioned Parliament for the repeal of the Test Act, I called, accidentally, upon Lord *Camden*, then President of the Council; and, in the course of conversation, asked him this plain question, suggested by the alarm which had been taken by some Churchmen—"Does your Lordship see any danger to the Church of England from the repeal of the Test Act?"—He answered, with an eagerness peculiar to himself, when his mind was determined—"None whatever."—If then I err in this matter, I err with the late Lord Camden; and though I had not rather err with him, than be right with others,

others, yet I neither wish for, nor know where to find, a better supporter of my sentiment.

The general good sense of the age has freed itself from many opinions on religion and government, which disturbed the minds of our fathers. The Church does not now lay claim to tithes as due by any other law than the law of the land—She does not persecute Dissenters, whom she cannot persuade—She denounces no anathema against schismatics—nor arrogates to herself alone the title of—The true Church.—Passive obedience to bad kings, the divine right of all kings, and indefeasible succession, are tenets now maintained by few. These, and similar doctrines concerning church and state, which occasioned so much trouble to government, and mischief to the people, in several preceding reigns, have in the reign of GEORGE III. expired with what gave support to most of them—*Jacobitism*. They have been buried, I trust, for ever, in the same grave with the *Pretender*.

If

If a degree of bitterness, my Lords, against Dissenters be still subsisting in the minds of some Laymen—if the Church have still amongst it's members, a few whose zeal against non-conformists of every denomination is violent;—if the vulgar be still capable of being incited, by the cry of the church's danger, to commit enormities shocking to humanity, and disgraceful to civil policy; yet the Legislature of this kingdom has, in several instances, shown a more liberal policy towards those who cannot in conscience conform to the Established Church. This liberality will daily increase, if those who are the objects of it in any part of the Empire continue to deserve it. The Dissenters want not my advice; they will permit me however to observe, that a firm attachment to the civil constitution as settled at the Revolution, moderation towards the Church, loyalty towards the king, and a peaceable deportment towards all, are irresistible weapons by which they will at length subdue all opposition to their claims.

claims. This opposition springs not, I am certain, from any feelings of persecution or intolerance in our governors; but it springs in some well-meaning men, from the fears and jealousies, to which timid tempers are peculiarly subject, when any Innovation is proposed; in others, it arises from an apprehension, that there may be a renewal of the troubles, and ruin of the church and state, which took place in the reign of Charles I.; notwithstanding the great diversity between the circumstances of the country then and now, in many respects, and in particular in the Throne being filled by the House of Brunswick, and not by that of Stuart. We none of us have now any thing to fear from the arbitrary exactions of a monarch, or from the ecclesiastical tyranny of an archbishop. The prudent and dispassionate among the Dissenters in England, and among the Catholics both in England and Ireland, who consider how difficult it is for non-conformists, as well as for churchmen, and in truth how difficult it is for all men,

to

to get the better of prejudices implanted by education, and rooted by reflection, will rather wonder that so much has been done for them, than indulge a petulant discontent, as if they had suffered an indignity in being denied any thing.

I know, my Lords, that I have been accused of being a Republican, of being a Presbyterian, of being I know not what sort of dangerous thing, that was to be watched, intimidated, undermined, depressed. I have scorned (too haughtily, perhaps, for my interest) but I have through life scorned to repel open calumny, to counteract secret misrepresentation, by words; leaving it to the world and to posterity (if posterity shall ever inquire after me) to form a judgment of my principles and character from my actions. I have no partiality for Presbyterianism, I prefer Episcopacy to it. I have no partiality for republicanism, thinking it worse than despotism; and despotism, your Lordships will think with me, is worse than death. I have no partiality for

either Catholics, or protesting Catholics, or dissenting Protestants, as such; but I have a partiality for truth, and moderation, and justice, and the safety of the country: and it's safety will at all times be best secured by the hearty union and concurrence of all it's members in it's defence. The age for excessive jealousies, for exclusive privileges, for domineering pretensions, for narrow principles of legislation and government, is over; and happy, my Lords, will that people be, whose rulers seasonably advert to the change which the "greatest of all innovators—Time" insensibly operates in the circumstances of the world.

If, my Lords, I should differ in opinion from any, or from all, of your Lordships, on any, or on all, of the four points on which I have spoken, I certainly shall lament such difference as a misfortune; but at the same time I must confess, that even a foreknowledge of that difference would not have deterred me from speaking:

ing:—*liberavi animam meam*—and it is impossible that there ever can occur, to any of us, an occasion of greater necessity, to form our opinions with due consideration, and to deliver them with sincerity. I have spoken with confidence, but not, I hope, with arrogance—with confidence, because my mind was made up; without arrogance, because I am extremely sensible, that the fallibility of judgment which belongs, in some degree, to most men, belongs, in a great degree, to myself. I am ashamed, my Lords, to speak of the personal service of a man in his 67th year; he could render none to his country. Yet if the last extremity should arrive, we must all of us do what we can. All professional immunities must give way to public necessity; all exemptions from military duty must cease.—They ceased in Corsica, when, at the call of their country, five hundred priests took up arms to resist Gallic oppression—They ceased in ancient Rome, whenever the Romans were threatened, as we are now, with a Gallic

 invasion;

invasion; and they must cease with Us, before we cease to be an independent people.

Allow me, my Lords, before I sit down, to say a word or two on what appears to me to be the true cause of our commencing this war. I am the more disposed to do this, from observing, that this cause has been much kept out of sight, as if we were ashamed to produce it; whereas it appears to me so reasonable and just a cause, that I wish all the world to know it.

My *Alma Mater*, my Lords, and I trust the *revered Alma Mater* of many of your Lordships, has, for near a century past, been in the habit of strengthening the intellectual faculties of her sons by the severity of mathematical discipline—She has been blamed for this; but, I presume to say, not wisely blamed: for at the same time that she engages them in the recondite researches of mathematical science, she permits and exhorts them to try

try their strength, in the investigation of the most subtle questions of morality and jurisprudence. When I was a *Soph* at Cambridge forty-five years ago, I maintained in the Philosophical Schools a question, on the truth of which depends the justice of this war, and the fate of Europe. The question was this—*Jure Gentium arma rectè sumuntur, ad imminuendam crescentem potentiam, quæ nimiùm aucta nocere posset.*—The great *Grotius* positively denies this doctrine; and I now consider my having undertaken to maintain it, in opposition to his authority, to have been a mere piece of youthful temerity; or, to speak most favourably of it, of pardonable vanity. But I have since met with an authority greater than that of *Grotius*; which (though it does not excuse my temerity, for I did not then know of it) entirely satisfies me, that the doctrine I then maintained was true. The authority I allude to is not less than that of the "greatest of mankind."—It is so full to the purpose of justifying the war we have

commenced, and such a warning to Europe, that I will beg leave to quote it, from his—Essay of Empire—" Princes should " be perpetually upon the watch, that " none of their neighbours do overgrow so " (whether by increase of territory, or " by embracing of trade, or by nearer " approaches, and the like) as to become " more able to annoy them than they were " before. And this is generally the work of " standing counsels to foresee and hinder. " Certainly during that triumvirate of " kings (Henry the Eighth of England, " Francis the First of France, and Charles " the Fifth of Spain) there was such a " vigilance among them, that none of the " three could win a span of ground, but the " other two would straightway balance it, " either by consideration, or, if need were, " by war.—Neither is the opinion of some " of the Schoolmen to be received, That " a war cannot justly be undertaken, but " upon a precedent injury or provocation. " For there is no question, but a just fear " of an imminent danger, though there be

" no

"no blow given, is a competent and lawful "cause of a war."

The jealousy respecting the increase of the power of France, which, as Lord Bacon has observed, actuated the councils of Henry VIII. was a prominent feature in the politics of his daughter *Elizabeth*. There is a remarkable passage in proof of this in *Sully*'s Memoirs.—When that minister, by order of his master, Henry IV. had an interview with Queen Elizabeth at Dover, she plainly said to him, "If the "King of France, my brother, should be "desirous of making himself the pro-"prietary, or even only the feudal seignior "of the United Provinces, I do not con-"ceal from you that the attempt will "excite my utmost jealousy." What would this princess have said, had she witnessed that colossal aggrandizement of France, which it is our misfortune to behold? She would have called upon all the Powers of Europe to unite in reducing it; and, had she found the Powers of Europe as deaf to her exhortations as they are to ours, she

would have done what a monarch, as beloved as herself (and none was ever more beloved) is now doing—She would have called out her own people, and relied, under God, on their loyalty and bravery for success.

I acknowledge, my Lords, that the insult offered to our Sovereign in the person of his Ambassador; that the repeated menaces of invasion; that the tergiversation respecting Malta; that these and other similar injuries might, if on representation persevered in, be esteemed just causes of war; yet I entirely rely on the truth of the thesis I have mentioned, as a sufficient ground of just and honourable aggression.

Contumelious language is a disgrace only to him who uses it, and is best answered by silence and contempt; slight injuries are fitter to be settled by diplomatic negotiation, than avenged by the force of arms; but an increasing Power is to be reduced before it becomes too strong; for the history of all ages and countries

countries informs us, that when an overgrown nation has the means, it seldom wants the will to oppress it's neighbours. France makes no secret of her will; we are justified in preventing her from acquiring the means.

Some of your Lordships are old enough to remember the time, when, in the latter part of the reign of George II. immense preparations were made by France at *Toulon*, at *Brest*, and in every other port of that kingdom, for the invasion of this. The alarm of the nation was extreme; government was panic-struck; the militia was called out, and German auxiliaries were brought into the country to defend it. I shall never forget the frenzy of joy which seized the whole nation, when news was brought—that *Boscawen* had destroyed the *Toulon* fleet—And when news was brought, three months afterwards—that *Hawke* had destroyed the *Brest* fleet.

Without disturbing the ashes of the dead, without distressing the modesty of the living, by comparisons, may I not be allowed

allowed to state my firm expectation, that the Commanders of the fleets which now watch the motions of the enemy at *Toulon*, at *Brest*, and in every other part of the world where they are to be found, will, on no distant day, afford their country equal causes for similar triumph and exultation? There is not an admiral, an officer, a sailor, in the British Navy, who does not burn with impatience to have an opportunity of attacking the enemy;—who is not ready to exclaim with *Macduff*,

> Within my sword's length set him, if he 'scape
> Then Heav'n forgive him too.

The Navy will think itself unfortunate, if not dishonoured, should the safety of the country be left to the protection of the Army alone. The Army, though it unites with the whole nation in a just estimate of the skill and courage of the Navy, is eager to gather unfading laurels, from finishing what the Navy may, by some unlucky chance, be obliged to leave undone.

The preparations of France may, for aught I know, my Lords, be greater now

than they were in 1759; but I am certain of this, that there never was a time, in the history of Great Britain, when our preparations were so extensive, when the nation was so united within itself, it's spirit so high, it's sense of danger so strong, it's indignation so roused, it's detestation of French principles, French cruelties, French rapacity, French ambition, so general and sincere as at this moment.

We have not, it must be confessed, and I am proud to confess it, a few thousands of Hessians and Hanoverians to defend us —but we have a whole nation of loyal and brave subjects in arms.—It is not in my power to animate the Country, nor do I speak so warmly of our preparations, with any view to attempt it; as a plain man I plainly speak my mind. I know that the whole country, from the throne to the cottage, is animated with the noblest ardour; and I know too, that if there is a man in the Empire whom the occasion does not animate, in vain will you attempt, by the most ardent words, to warm the frigid

frigid cowardice or disaffection of such a man's heart.

The occasion is extraordinary; and we meet it, as we ought to do, with extraordinary resolution and exertion. A successful invasion, had it ever been accomplished during the monarchy of France, would have been terminated by, perhaps, a disadvantageous peace; but we should have retained our rank in the scale of nations. A successful invasion by the Republic of France (Heaven avert so great an evil!) will never be terminated but in complete national degradation, in public bankruptcy, and individual beggary. This limited Monarchy, the glory of civilized society! will be overthrown—our aged Monarch (God protect him!) and his numerous Sons, will be buried, such is the acknowledged bravery of his race! in the last ruins of their native land—Your rank, my Lords, by which, for the benefit of all, you are now distinguished from the rest, will be heard of no more—The landed gentry will be obliged to become farmers, and be compelled,

compelled, by unheard of, unthought of, exactions, to give up the lamented produce of their own lands and of their own labour, to feed the luxury of a foreign country—The farmers will be made labourers, and the labourers will be made slaves—And, in addition to all these calamities, the youth of every class will be made *conscripts*—and dragged from their country and their fathers' house, to fight the battles of violent and unjust ambition in every part of the world.—Sooner than all this should happen, I would say (did Christianity permit such a wish) may the fate of the *Saguntines* become the fate of *Britons!*

Such, my Lords, would be the final event of a successful invasion of this country by the Republic of France. I have in some degree described it, but I do not in any degree expect it; I expect the direct contrary. My hope and my firm expectation is, that, instead of success, the enemy will experience defeat; instead of triumph, disgrace and ruin—that, under the good providence of God, the arms of

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Great Britain will not only preserve our own independence, but be instrumental in exciting the spirit of other nations to recover theirs, and eventually contribute to the establishing the true liberty, and promoting the true prosperity, of France itself - - - But on this subject I forbear.

And now, illustrious Peers of this mighty Empire! Venerable Fathers of our most venerable Church! I beseech you, individually, to pardon me, if in the warmth of my zeal for the public safety (never more endangered than at present!) any expression has escaped me unworthy the dignity of your rank to hear, unbecoming the decorum of my station to utter. Little more can be expected by the country from a man of my age, except from his prayers; and mine shall never be wanting for it's preservation, and for peace among mankind.

AN

ADDRESS

TO

YOUNG PERSONS

AFTER CONFIRMATION.

SIXTH EDITION.

MY YOUNG FRIEND,

THE Minister of your parish has, I have good confidence, fully explained to you the nature of that rite which has now been performed; and you, on your part, have considered, I hope, as seriously as your age and ability will permit, it's importance with respect to yourself. By the care of your Parents, you were baptized in your infancy; and were thereby made a member of the Church of Christ, at an age when you were incapable of giving your consent thereto: by a continuance of

of the same care, you have been instructed in the principles of that religion, into which you were initiated by baptism; and you have this day signified that consent, which at your baptism you could not give. You have signified your belief of the truth of the Christian religion; and bound yourself to live according to it's precepts. You would, indeed, have been bound to obey the precepts of the Christian religion, as far as they had come to your knowledge, though you had not been brought to the Bishop to be confirmed by him. Confirmation does not lay upon you any new burden; you were not, before confirmation, at liberty to commit any action which you knew to be sinful; and you are not now, after confirmation, restrained from any action which you know to be innocent. Out of a sincere desire to promote your everlasting welfare, I have thought fit, on this occasion, to give you a word of advice; I shall never have so good an opportunity of doing it, nor can it at any time be more useful to you than

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at present; for your mind is, I trust, at present free from vice, and disposed to every thing that is good; and you will soon be tempted, both by the customs of the world, and your own appetites, to many things which are evil. May God sanctify this my feeble endeavour to serve you!

I BEGIN my advice with recommending it to you in the strongest manner—to let no day pass without thinking of God, and offering up your prayers to him.—Your Parents, I hope, have not omitted to accustom you to this duty; if they have, though it will not become you to upbraid them for their neglect, yet it will certainly become you not to follow their example; you must do more for yourself in this particular than they have done for you. The education of many young persons is extremely ill suited to promote their present happiness as men, or their future happiness as Christians. Great numbers, especially in the lower classes of life, are

wholly neglected from their very infancy; permitted to contract habits of swearing, lying, thieving, drinking, sabbath-breaking; of idleness, debauchery, and rudeness, without correction or reproof. From habits acquired at an early age, the future quality of a man's life, as to virtue or vice, is, generally, and almost necessarily derived; how deplorable then is the condition of those children who are suffered to grow up in ignorance, dishonesty, intemperance, and profaneness; whose parents are too wicked to restrain them, too stupid to instruct them! Others, in the higher ranks of life, are instructed with care in languages, in history, in philosophy, in music, in dancing, in every accomplishment which may fit them for a proper appearance in the world. Parents think the education of their children is properly finished, when they have acquired these modish qualifications, none of which are of any worth, when put in competition with a knowledge of religion. That is either wholly neglected, or it is taught

taught them in an improper manner; they are instructed by rote, in their nursery, in a few of it's doctrines, but they are not, when they come out of it, familiarized to the practice of it's duties; they are not taught to love and regard *the Gospel of Christ as the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth**, as the one unerring rule by which they ought to regulate every thought, word, and action of their future lives. This kind of religious knowledge tends to improve the heart, and is entirely different from that which consists in knowing the rise and progress of particular doctrines and sects; in being acquainted with the most noted objections to the truth of Christianity; in understanding how to obviate them; and in comprehending a variety of explanations, which interpreters have affixed to difficult passages of Scripture: yet, alas! this curious, wrangling, speculative, and unfruitful sort of knowledge, is the only one which is taught those young persons who are instructed

* Rom. i. 16.

structed in the Christian religion; and it is much more than is taught young persons in general. A principal cause of this neglect, as to the religious education of children in all conditions of life, is this—that many parents are themselves very wicked, and very indifferent about religion. They have rarely any proper sense of it as a rule of conduct, and they cannot therefore prescribe it to their children; or, if they do understand it, they are generally so immersed in viciousness of life, and a neglect of all such Christian duties as happen to clash with their inclinations, passions, and prejudices, that they are ashamed to teach the necessity of obeying principles, which they themselves have not the grace to practise.

It is, in some measure, to attempt to remedy these defects of education where they exist; and to confirm in goodness the minds of such young persons, whose education has not been neglected, that I make this address to all. I recommend to all—an early Piety as the root of every virtue,

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as the surest source of comfort in every stage and condition of life.—Your Parents, however good they may be, will, in the course of nature, be soon taken from you; friends you may have but few, or perhaps none who can, or at least who will assist you in your need. You are just entering into a world, where you will find every one bustling for his own advantage, and little regardful of that of others; you will meet with many hardships, and have many difficulties to struggle with; let your situation be what it may, you will stand in great need of a protector who has power to succour you, wisdom to see what is fittest for you, and goodness to give you every thing that will be of use to you. God is that protector. He is most able, most wise, and most willing to guard you from misfortunes, and to bless you with all comforts; it is your highest interest to procure his favour: you need not despair of obtaining it, if you will but endeavour to deserve it; and you will be most likely to endeavour to deserve it

through the whole course of life, if you accustom yourself, in your younger years, to think of him with reverence, to pray to him with humility and hope, and to praise him with heartfelt gratitude for all his goodness towards you.

I exhort you never to let either the pleasures or the cares of life produce in you a forgetfulness of God, and an indevout mind. A brutish hardness, and impenitence, and impiety of heart, is the greatest possible evil which can befal you, let your condition be what it may. Riches will be a curse to you, if they make you proud and arrogant, and disregardful of your Maker; and poverty has no calamity belonging to it so great, as that abandoned contempt of God, that mad rashness with respect to futurity, which too often accompanies it. I warn you, whether you are born to poverty or riches, not to live, as if there was no God in the world. He is not indeed the object of any of your senses, yet is he always with you; you cannot speak, but he hears you;

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you cannot stir a step, but he accompanies you. It depends upon yourself, whether you will make this adorable and incomprehensible Being, from whose presence you cannot withdraw yourself; from whose eye you cannot hide your actions; from whose knowledge you cannot conceal your thoughts; it depends upon yourself, whether you will make him your friend or enemy. He is the friend of virtue, and the enemy of vice. If you are a follower of that which is good, he allows and encourages you to address him under appellations suited to your comprehension, and comfortable to your imperfection; he instructs you to call him Governor, Friend, and Father: but if you are bent on evil courses, you must consider him as a Judge and an Avenger, from whose mercy you have nothing to expect; for, *without holiness no man shall*, no man can, *see the Lord* *.

Meditate again and again on the nature of this supreme Being; and on the rela-

* Heb. xii. 14.

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tion in which you stand to him. He is from everlasting to everlasting; you are just come into an existence which will have no end; but the manner of this your never ceasing existence, will be happy or miserable, according as by your conduct in this world you please or displease him. He is all-powerful, and disposed to give you every thing; you are weakness itself, and without him can have nothing. He respects not your outward circumstances; you may unhappily have been instructed to mind little else. Men may scorn you, for your meanness or poverty; men may flatter you, for your rank or riches; God regards you for nothing but your goodness; for that, and for that only, will he reward you in this world and in the next. Such meditations as these take up no time; they may be made in your chamber, in the field, in the highway, in the midst of the business and tumult of the world. I beseech you, therefore, as you tender your own happiness temporal and eternal, to let the fear and the love of God dwell in

in you as an active principle; pray to him daily, think of him hourly, commit yourself to his guidance, and have confidence in his protection. Thus will you acquire an habit of dedicating every action to the will of your Maker; you will be persuaded that you live under his more immediate inspection, and that persuasion will generate in you holiness of life. If in the world you have affliction, you will bear it patiently; from knowing that it is the chastisement of an affectionate father, who perfectly knows what sort of discipline is best suited to advance your moral improvement. If in the world you have prosperity, you will refer your good fortune to his kindness; and this your pious gratitude will of itself become an occasion for the continuance of his goodness.

Let your prayers be rather frequent than long.—Their frequency will produce and preserve in you that disposition, with which you will become a proper object of God's protection, and without which the longest prayers cannot procure it for you.

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But whether you make long or short prayers, let them always proceed from the bottom of the heart. Rest not in the outward ceremony of repeating certain forms which have been taught you, whilst your inward thoughts are dwelling upon some other subject, or wandering in a distracted manner through a variety of subjects; this is the mere labour of the lips, and cannot avail you to any good; it may be a sort of hypocrisy, and as such, being an abomination to God, will draw down evil on you. When you address the Supreme Being, you must be attentive to what you are doing; you must draw nigh to him with your heart as well as with your lips; you must think of the meaning of every word you utter; you must be earnest in your petitions, and fervent in your hope of obtaining the completion of such as are proper to be granted.

The subjects of your prayers will be various, according to your wants. In bodily sickness, you will pray for health; in mental uneasiness, for peace of mind;

in adversity, for protection; in prosperity, that you may use the good things God has given you as means of your future salvation. Natural reason teaches you this; but there is a subject of prayer which natural reason cannot teach you; it is by revelation that you are instructed to pray for the assistance of God's Spirit to enlighten your understanding, and to sanctify your heart. Deceive not yourself in this matter by a warm imagination, which often produces an excess of devotion; nor be you deceived by others. Beware of thinking that you are favoured with any extraordinary communications of God's Spirit, and shun the fellowship of those who pretend to them. Their pretensions, there is reason to believe, are grounded in self-delusion; for we charitably hope that they are not grounded in a worse principle, a desire of deluding others, for their own benefit. The holy Spirit, we know, gave his assistance in an extraordinary manner to the first preachers of the Gospel, and they were sure of his *dwelling*

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in them * by the power of speaking with new tongues, and by the other gifts which he distributed to them. We think we have the authority of Scripture for saying that God still continues to *work in us both to will and to do of his good pleasure* †—to *give his holy Spirit to them that ask him* ‡—but the manner in which the holy Spirit gives his assistance to faithful and pious persons is not attended with any certain sign of it's being given, it is secret and unknown; you cannot distinguish the working, by which he *helpeth your infirmities* §, from the ordinary operations of your own mind.

With respect to what are esteemed temporal blessings, such as riches and honours, they so frequently, by being misused, become the occasions of temporal evil and of eternal ruin to those who possess them, that they ought to be but very inferior objects of your prayers; *seek ye first the kingdom of God and his righteousness*,

* 1 Cor. iii. 16. † Phil. ii. 13.

‡ Luke ii. 13. § Rom. viii. 26.

*righteousness, and all these things shall be added unto you**. But if you do pray for these things at all, it should always be with some such restriction as this—if thou, Lord, seest that they will be for my good. —And, indeed, it becomes us on all occasions, rather to pray that God would take us under his guidance, and would govern us by any means he thinks fit, whether by adversity or prosperity, so as to bring us to everlasting happiness, than to be very particular in our petitions to him. For we are sensual and shortsighted creatures; our carnal appetites will prompt us to ask for what is dangerous to our spiritual purity; and our ignorance of what may in the event be fittest for us, will, in many instances, render our very prayers, if granted, misfortunes to us. It is your duty to prefer your petitions at the Throne of God, and it is your interest in doing it to beg him with all humility and sincerity of heart to judge for you; to deal with you as a father dealeth with his child; to give you what he knoweth will

* Matt. vi. 33.

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be for your good, whether you ask for it or not; and to withhold from you what he knoweth will be for your harm, how earnestly soever you importune him for it. Even when you pray to be relieved from ignominy, from pain, and death, still it is your duty to acquiesce in the determinations of God, saying — *not my will, O Father, but thine be done* *.

That this habit of Piety, which I am so earnest in recommending, may be the more perfectly formed in you; to your private prayers and meditations, I hope, you will add, as frequently as you have opportunity,—an attendance on places of public worship, and behave yourself with great seriousness when there. Make no silly excuses, such as the distance of the church, the badness of the weather or of the roads, the want of proper clothes, and much less an attention to the business of your ordinary calling, for staying away from them; for an absence from places of public worship has been always considered as the beginning of an hardened

* Luke xxii. 42.

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and vicious course of life. Thanks be to God, there is great plenty of such places in this our Land; no one need go far to meet with instruction, nor be at much trouble to receive exhortation to piety and purity of manners. And, though I think it best for you to frequent the service of the Church of England in which you have been educated, yet I caution you against finding fault with those who are otherwise minded. Enter into no disputes with them, use no revilings towards them; nor be you disturbed in your mind by any harsh and uncharitable expressions with which they may think fit to censure your manner of devotion; but soberly, and steadily, and sincerely, follow the worship in which you have been instructed.

Do not, at any period of life, absent yourself from your parish church, from a belief that you know your duty as well as the minister who is publicly appointed to be your teacher. If you have such knowledge, thank the Giver of all wisdom for

for it, but be not puffed up by it; do not on that account scornfully separate yourself from the public worship of God. For though you may think yourself too wise to be instructed, I will venture to say that you will never be too good to be amended; your minister may, probably, tell you nothing that is new, for truth is homely and old fashioned; but you ought not to have *itching ears* *, or to expect entertainment at your churches: he will put you in mind, however, of your duty; his admonitions may blow up the dying embers of your devotion, and purge from your heart the dross of avarice, the filth of sensuality, the abomination of impiety, the wiles of Satan, and the corruptions of the world.

Do not, at any period of life, absent yourself from your parish church, from a dislike to your minister. Just occasions of dislike, I hope and trust, will seldom arise; but if they should arise, you will only injure yourself by suffering an attention to them to exclude you from the house of God. Ministers of the Gospel

* 2 Tim. iv. 3.

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are men of like passions with others, they may accidentally fall into indiscretion of conduct, though they are more culpable than others if they do not avoid it. They, as well as others, have temporal concerns to attend to for the support of themselves, and of their families; it may happen, that they may be less zealous than they ought to be in the discharge of their pastoral duties; and more eager than you wish them to be in pursuit of their temporal interests. But you must remember, that they are not answerable to you for their conduct in either particular, but to another Master, even to Christ their Lord and your Lord, who will certainly call them to a strict account. When you are angry with them, whether justly or unjustly it matters not, you must not think of vexing them, as is too commonly the practice, by absenting yourself from church; for in vexing them you ruin your own peace; you feed the malignity of an improper passion, your temper becomes unchristian, and you neglect what it is

your main interest to attend to, the public worship of God.

The public worship of God consists of various parts, and there is one part of it on which it may be useful to say a few words, because many persons are apt to neglect it; and you, before you were confirmed, or were ready and desirous of being so, could not be admitted to it; and you ought now to be kept no longer from it; I mean—the celebration of the Lord's Supper, or the receiving the holy Communion, or the receiving the Sacrament, for these are but different manners of expressing the same thing.

Be not alarmed with improper apprehensions on this head. You are yet, I trust, free from those habits of sinning, which unhappily deter so many persons of a more advanced age from being partakers of this rite. You have no inveterate malice against your neighbours, no gross sensuality, no stubborn impiety, to repent of and forsake: you may approach the Lord's Table with confidence and thankfulness;

fulness; and the sooner you come to it, and the oftener you frequent it, the more likely will you be to attain, and persevere in that habit of holiness, which it is so well adapted to promote; and the promotion of which is the main end of every religious ordinance. I do not here undertake to explain to you at large the nature of the Lord's Supper; many volumes have been written on the subject, and some of them very injudiciously; a plain and intelligible rite has been construed into a superstitious observance; and I wish to preserve you from those perplexities and fears, by which the minds of many persons are so bewildered and affrighted, that they never celebrate this rite at all. You are to consider the receiving the holy Communion—as the celebrating of a rite which Jesus Christ commanded to be observed, in remembrance of his having laid down his life for the redemption of the world.—The redemption of the world from everlasting death by the blood of Jesus, is a stupendous instance of the

mercy and wisdom of God; you will not, probably, in this mortal state, be ever able to comprehend it in all it's parts, but it is not necessary for you to be very curious in the matter; you may rest satisfied with knowing, that the eternal God, out of his abundant kindness and mere good pleasure, *sent his only-begotten Son into the world, that we might live through him* *; that this Son, *the first-born of every creature, came down from heaven to give life unto the world* †; submitted to the death of the cross that *he might shed his blood for the remission of sins* ‡, and *be the Lord both of the dead and living* §; that this *Lamb that was slain now liveth, having the keys of hell and of death* ‖, possessing *all power in heaven and in earth* ¶, and being become *the author of eternal salvation to all that obey him* **. This is the great principle of the Gospel; and if you think of it with any degree of reverence, and it deserves to be thought of with the highest,

* 1 John iv. 9. † John vi. 33. ‡ Matt. xxvi. 28.
§ Rom. xiv. 9. ‖ Rev. i. 18. ¶ Matt. xxviii. 18.
** Heb. v. 9.

highest, your mind will be warmed with the highest love for God who planned this scheme of redemption; and with the sincerest gratitude to his Son, who executed it. What difficulty then can you have in testifying this gratitude, by partaking of a rite which he instituted, for the express purpose of keeping in your mind the remembrance of what he has done for you? You ought, indeed, when you solemnly commemorate the death of Christ, to consider whether he has not died in vain as to you; you ought to examine the state of your soul, and resolve to abandon all your sins, before you come to the Lord's Table. But this examination and this resolution it is your duty to make at all times; you must not be so simple in understanding, as to think yourself excused from the performance of it till you judge fit to receive the sacrament; for if you never receive the sacrament at all, you will be under the same obligation to abandon your sins, as if you received it every day; and if from any motive whatever,

you neglect to receive it, in addition to your other sins you will add that of neglecting a clear and positive command of your Saviour and your Judge: And how at the *last day* you will answer this contempt of his command, it behoves you to consider *now*; before an intercourse with the world has hardened your heart, before a loss of innocence has rendered your return to righteousness more difficult; before this which is the day of salvation be passed, and all your hopes buried with you in the grave.

There is no cause why you should be terrified from performing this rite by some expressions which you will meet with in your Common Prayer-book; such as being guilty of the body and blood of Christ, eating and drinking your own damnation, provoking God to plague you with divers diseases and sundry kinds of death, if you receive the sacrament unworthily. It is far from my intention to render you easy and secure under your sins; or to induce you to come to this holy rite, by withholding

holding from your knowledge any thing that the Scripture has delivered concerning it; but as these expressions have contributed greatly to frighten men from the Lord's Table, it is necessary that you should be acquainted with their proper meaning; which will best be ascertained by considering the occasion on which they were first used. These expressions are taken from the eleventh chapter of St. Paul's first Epistle to the Corinthians. Corinth was a city of Greece; it was a custom in that country for neighbours to meet and sup together; but the peculiarity of the custom consisted in this, that every man carried with him to the place of meeting his own provisions, and thus some were more amply supplied than others; some had an opportunity of becoming drunken, whilst others had not enough to satisfy the calls of nature. The Corinthians had so far mistaken what had been told them concerning the Lord's Supper, as to suppose that it was of the same nature with their customary meet-

ings; at least they seem to have celebrated it in the same way; for every *one took his own supper* when he thought fit, without waiting for the rest, *and one was hungry and another was drunken**. This manner of receiving the sacrament, St. Paul told them, was quite improper; *it was eating the bread and drinking the cup of the Lord unworthily*; and in so doing they were *guilty of the body and blood of the Lord*†—guilty of irreverence towards the institution; they eat and drank their own damnation, not discerning the Lord's body—they eat and drank in a way which exposed them to the temporal judgment of God, because they made no distinction between the Supper of the Lord, and a common entertainment; and God's condemnation of their conduct was manifested, by the extraordinary punishments which he had inflicted on them; for *this cause many of them were weak, many sick, and many dead*‡.

If this be the true explanation of the Apostle's

* 1 Cor. xi. 21. † 1 Cor. xi. 27. ‡ 1 Cor. xi. 30.

Apostle's words, and many learned and pious persons think that it is, you see how little reason you have to fear that you will receive the sacrament unworthily, in the sense in which St. Paul uses that word; or that you will incur the guilt which was incurred by the Corinthians: for you will not commit any intemperance at the Lord's Table; nor will you irreverently consider the sacrament as a common entertainment; but you will with great piety and gratitude remember the death of Christ; you will eat bread as a memorial of his body which was broken, you will drink wine as a memorial of his blood which was shed for you and all mankind; and in doing this you will discern the Lord's body; for not discerning of which the Corinthians were punished with divers diseases, and sundry kinds of death. But though you receive the sacrament with a due sense of it's nature; and in obedience to the command of Him who instituted it; yet you must not think that this act will absolve you from all sin, or free you

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from all condemnation; you must remain obnoxious to that whilst your life is opposite to the terms of salvation delivered in the Gospel. And that your life may not be opposite to these terms, I sincerely advise you to partake frequently of the holy communion. The circumstances and solemnity of the rite have a direct tendency to improve your moral disposition; the remembrance of the death of Christ will make you reflect on the nature of sin, which occasioned it, and on the benefits derived to you, if you be not wanting to yourself from it; you will repent of your past sins, and make strong resolutions of amendment of life; and the grace of God, which is on this as well as on all other occasions ready to assist your own endeavours, may enable you to keep them.

Another help towards the attaining of a pious and religious disposition is—the reading of the Word of God. There are two ways by which your mind may become filled with proper notions of the

existence and nature of the Supreme Being; either by contemplating his works, or reading his word. If your understanding has been enlarged by a liberal education, and you have been instructed in the principles of true philosophy, especially of astronomy, you cannot fail of having your mind occupied by the most sublime and devout conceptions of the power, and wisdom, of that adorable Being who formed the universe. You will see evident marks of design in every part of it; and such an harmony in the whole, as, if properly considered, will convince you that it is the work of *one, powerful, intelligent*, and *benevolent* Being; *the invisible things of him from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even his eternal power and Godhead* *. If your education has been more humble and confined, still the works of God, properly attended to, will exalt your mind to an admiration of his perfections. You may, indeed, pass your life in extreme ignorance

* Rom. i. 20.

and stupidity, without ever thinking of the Author of it; but it is certainly your own fault if you do so; for the very succession of day and night, of seed-time and harvest, the structure of your body, the change of your food into blood and flesh, are all such obvious effects of his power and goodness, as, if reflected on at all, will become occasions of your piety. God *in times past suffered all nations to walk in their own ways: nevertheless, he left not himself without witness, in that he did good, and gave them rain and fruitful seasons**. But to us Christians he hath been abundantly gracious; he hath not left us, (and thankful ought we to be for the preference) he hath not left us, as he hath hitherto left the greatest part of the human race, *to seek him if haply we might find him* †, by the glimmering of our own reason; but he hath guided us to the most complete knowledge of his attributes, and of our dependance on him, by the light of revelation.

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* Acts xiv. 16. † Acts xvii. 27.

It used to be a custom in all families to read the Bible, especially on the Lord's Day, and I hope it is so still in many. I am sure no sort of reading can be more profitable for instruction in matters of infinite importance to every one of us; nor for consolation to the afflicted; nor for reproof to the abandoned; nor for help to the unbeliever; nor for increase of godliness to the sober minded. I entreat you therefore to make yourself well acquainted with this most valuable book; there is a kind of charm in it which will protect you from the assaults of the devil, and preserve you from the practice of great wickedness. You may occasionally fall into temptations, and even be subdued by them; but if you are constant in reading your Bible, it will be almost impossible for you not to leave off sinning presumptuously. It's precepts will so open your heart to a sense of what is right; it's promises of everlasting glory and peace in heaven with God and his saints, will so excite your hopes; it's threatenings of everlasting

everlasting ruin and misery in hell with the devil and his angels, will so alarm your fears; that you must be quite abandoned of God, and given over to a reprobate mind, if it does not arouse you to a great piety of heart and probity of life.

Thus have I pointed out to you—*private prayer and meditation on the nature of God—an attendance on every part of his public worship, and especially on the Lord's Supper—and the constant reading of your Bible*—as the most probable means of generating in your heart that reverence for the Supreme Being, which is the first of all your duties; and which if you once really acquire it, you will find to be the chief of all your comforts. Rank, power, wealth, learning, fame, all the objects which you may have been instructed to admire, and which you see the greatest part of the world so eager in the pursuit of, are not to be compared, as sources of real satisfaction, with the possession of a strong and rational piety: *the fear of the Lord*

*Lord is the beginning of wisdom**, and the love of him is the completion of happiness.

If you take pains to cultivate that temper, which I have here exhorted you to acquire as a jewel of inestimable price, you will have less occasion for instruction in other matters; your piety will protect you against the devices of Satan, the infirmity of the flesh, and the allurements of the world. I will proceed, however, to give you some cautions respecting a point of great importance to your welfare here and hereafter—Self-government.

You will soon be left to your own management; the care of parents and masters which has hitherto, it is to be hoped, directed you in the right way, will be withdrawn from you, and you will be permitted to follow the bent of your disposition. The law of God, the law of your country, and the fear of the world's censure, will all contribute to keep you from acts of flagrant impiety; though their several injunctions do not, in all

* Prov. i. 7.

cases,

cases, tend to the same point, nor reach equally far: and that they may have more power over you, you must endeavour to get the mastery over yourself: you must learn to regulate your passions. All our passions are given us for our good, they become evil by their excess; reason has been afforded us to prevent that excess; and all laws human and divine have the same object in view. Religion does not require us to be without appetites and passions, for whilst we possess our present nature, whilst we are susceptible of pain and pleasure, from whence all our passions are derived, it would be impossible for us to be free from them; but it does require us to restrain their excess. I will instance in a few particulars, beginning with a general, and in many persons a very ungovernable appetite.

The desires by which young persons of different sexes are impelled to seek the society of each other, are not culpable in themselves; the continuation of the world depends upon them; parental affections spring

spring from them; and they are a main source of that domestic love and friendship by which, in a conjugal state, the evils of life are lessened, and our benevolence is enlarged. But these desires are not to be indulged to excess in any state; nor are they to be indulged at all in an improper manner; their impetuosity is to be restrained till they can be gratified by marriage: were they never to be gratified in any other way, marriages would be far more frequent; the nation would be much better peopled; and thousands of individuals of both sexes would be more happy. The unchastity of females is yet held in great disrepute; and though a few flagitious women of rank and fortune may have attempted to affront the modesty of the world, and to put innocence out of countenance, by impudently forcing themselves on the notice of the public; yet is there no reason at present to apprehend, that this disregard of the principle of female honour will become general.

It is much to be lamented, that the chastity of men is not so highly valued as that of women. There is no precept in the Gospel which allows more indulgence to men than to women in this particular; for there is none which allows any indulgence to either. Both are under the same obligation *to abstain from fleshly lusts which war against the soul**; *to mortify the deeds of the body*†; *to flee fornication*‡. Considering the great purity which is commanded by the religion we profess, it is matter of astonishment to see with what little compunction of conscience men, in every country of Christendom, plunge themselves into all manner of uncleanness. Be not you misled in this matter by fashion, nor prostitute your innocence, though you should see men richer, and older, and, in other respects, wiser than yourself, obeying the lusts of the flesh without shame or remorse. This is one instance, and there are many such, in which you may be guilty of a great sin without

*1 Pet. ii. 11. † Rom. viii. 13. ‡ 1 Cor. vi. 18.

without much incurring the world's censure; for the world in general represents incontinence in men as a trifling fault, or as none at all. But the world is a sinful and adulterous world; you must not pay any attention whatever to what it says, when it's opinion is opposite to the command of God; it is this command and this only which you are to respect as the supreme rule of your conduct. Things may be allowed you by public opinion, and even by the laws of your country, which are not allowed you by the laws of God: thus the laws of your country will not punish you for ingratitude, nor for ill nature; nor for pride, nor for self-conceit; nor for covetousness, nor for a censorious temper; nor for neglecting any of those duties of humanity, on a performance of which your religion lays the greatest stress, such as feeding the hungry, clothing the naked, and being kind to the afflicted: the laws of your country only restrain you from adultery, fornication, and other outward acts of impurity. But

the law of God penetrates the heart, and requires purity of thought. The opinion of the world in like manner is a very improper measure of Gospel perfection; it often blames men for actions which God approves, and commends them for actions which God disallows. Take especial heed that you be not led by it. You will meet with loose companions, who will laugh at your modesty and ridicule your religion; *for fools make a mock at sin**. The practice of the world will spread a snare for your virtue; *but if sinners entice thee, consent thou not*†. And your own passions will solicit you to part with your innocence, *for the flesh lusteth against the spirit*‡; but remember, *that to be carnally minded is death*§ —*that no whoremonger, nor adulterer, nor unclean person, hath any inheritance in the kingdom of Christ and of God*‖.— These are not my words, you will meet with them in that sacred book which contains the laws by which we must all be

* Prov. xiv. 9. † Prov. i. 10. ‡ Gal. v. 17.
§ Rom. viii. 6. ‖ Eph. v. 5.

be judged; and though the practice of all the world should be in manifest neglect and contempt of this, or of any other law contained in it, yet will the law have it's course, the declaration of God will stand fast. This prohibition, which occurs in many places of Scripture, extends not only to fornication and adultery, but to all acts of uncleanness, secret and open. This is a subject I cannot dwell upon; if you know not what is meant by secret acts of uncleanness, you are happy in your ignorance, seek not to be instructed. If by bad example you have acquired any impure habit, I exhort you to leave it off, not by degrees, but at once; it will entail on you a thousand evils in this life, which you cannot now foresee; and it will certainly expose you to the displeasure of God. Your self-government, with respect to this carnal appetite, will fit you for the enjoyment of heaven, where flesh and blood and sensual inclinations cannot enter; it will render your marriage, when you contract it, more honourable and happy;

it will secure to you a vigorous constitution in the decline of life; it will preserve you from painful and shameful diseases, to which men are exposed by their incontinence; and it will bless you with a quiet conscience, for having avoided the enormous sin of having seduced the innocent, or of having contributed to keep those who have been seduced by others in the road of worldly infamy and everlasting perdition.

Your self-government with respect to eating and drinking will, at your time of life especially, give you less trouble than that of which I have been speaking. Drunkenness and gluttony are such beastly vices, and so destructive of health and reputation, that the mere mention of them may be sufficient to deter you from them. There is, however, a bewitching festivity accompanying the use of strong liquors, which seduces most men, at one time or other, into some degrees of intemperance; and the better your constitution is, the more apt will you be to indulge

indulge yourself in this way. You should be upon your guard in this matter. Habits of drunkenness are occasioned by idleness, by uneasiness of mind, by fondness for company, by a love of liquor: but, let them proceed from what cause they may, they always end unhappily. In the lower classes of life, they bring on beggary; in the higher, negligence of every important concern; in both, loss of reputation, infirmity of body, imbecility of mind, excruciating diseases, and premature death. Drunkenness is at all times odious, but on the Lord's Day it is detestable, and yet on that day it is more frequent than on any other. Many mechanics and labourers on that day spend a great part of what they have earned in the course of the week; and thus expose themselves and their families to the infamy of being supported either by the rates of the parish, or the benevolence of well-disposed Christians, on the slightest sickness or cessation of work. I call it infamy, because an application to others for relief becomes

exceedingly infamous, when it is occasioned by riot and extravagance. I pray you not to change a day of rest into a day of debauchery; it is a day on which your thoughts should be particularly engaged in working out your own salvation: Beware of employing it in such a manner as to increase your condemnation.

Self-government, with regard to anger and revenge, is absolutely required of us as Christians; and there are few instances in which it is more difficult to attain it. When your person is insulted, your reputation traduced, your property injured, by the wantonness of unprovoked malice, the very constitution of your nature, which prompts you to avoid every thing which has given or is likely in future to give you pain, spurs you to take vengeance on your aggressor. But what says the Gospel of Jesus Christ? that Gospel by an absolute obedience to which your eternal happiness (words of unutterable import!) is to be determined? It bids you *not return evil for evil, but contrariwise blessing**; *it bids you love*

* 1 Pet. iii. 9.

*love your enemies, bless them that curse you, and do good to them that hate you**; it commands you to cultivate the virtues of kindness, humbleness of mind, meekness, long-suffering, *to forbear one another and to forgive one another, if any man have a quarrel against any.* If your condition in life be exalted a little above the common level, you will hear maxims quite contrary to those of the Gospel, with relation to the forgiveness of injuries, spoken of not only without censure, but with praise. And this is another instance, in which the opinion of the world is in clear and direct opposition to the law of God. You will hear men commended for being quick and violent in retaliating the slightest provocation: in obedience to a silly principle of fantastic honour, the least contumelious expression, uttered through inadvertence, or extorted by passion, must be expiated by the blood of the offender. But I will not enlarge on a barbarous custom, which is even insufficient to prove the courage it is intended to establish, since some of the best

* Matt. v. 44.

best and the bravest men that ever lived have refused to comply with it, and some of the worst and the most cowardly have had recourse to it, further than to beseech you to consider, whether it is better to submit to the misplaced censure of the world, or to the condemnation of God; for you know who hath said, *if ye forgive not men their trespasses, neither will your Father forgive yours**.

The generality of those whom I address, are happily removed from the temptation of murdering one another in compliance with the world's opinion. Offences will arise amongst all conditions of men; but in the middle ranks of life, the tyranny of fashion has not yet required them to be avenged in such a wicked manner; this extremity of folly and impiety has not yet made it's way amongst them. But you must not be contented with abstaining from this excessive deviation from the spirit of Christianity, it is your duty to stifle every propensity to revenge, in obedience to the command of God; you must reduce

* Matt. vi. 14.

the

the proud and resentful swellings of your heart, by pouring over it the dew of gentleness, patience, and peace. If you have been ill-treated by relations, friends or acquaintance, from whom you had every reason to expect returns of gratitude and affection, you will have much greater difficulty in curbing the fury of your resentment than in ordinary cases; your reason will be ingenious in finding excuses to justify your passion;—but listen not to it's suggestions, no circumstance can justify your disobedience to the laws of the Gospel. The temptation to revenge an unmerited injury done you by one whom you have obliged, is no doubt great, and your merit in overcoming the temptation will be great in the sight of God; for it is the perfection of virtue to bring all our vicious inclinations, all our domineering passions, under an absolute subjection to the divine will. There are many other passions, besides these of which I have been speaking, such as love, jealousy, fear, hope, despair, sorrow, envy, which it will be

be your interest to acquire the mastery over; for any of them being indulged to excess, may occasion a derangement of your understanding, will certainly be prejudicial to the right conduct of your life, and dangerous to that Christian temper of mind, which it should be your principal study to attain.

I have endeavoured, in what has been said, to persuade you to the practice of great piety towards God, and to the proper government of your sensual appetites and passions, as things absolutely necessary for you, if you mean to be a candidate for immortality. It remains that I give you some directions as to your conduct in the world, and that I exhort you to a contempt of it's vanities. When I speak of a contempt of the world, I do not mean that you should think so despicably of it, as to be dissatisfied with your being placed in it; or that you should so conduct yourself in it as not to esteem it's advantages worthy your pursuit. Advice of this sort would

would tend to produce in you, instead of meekness and peace of mind, moroseness and discontent. It might lessen, perhaps, the occasions of vice, most of which arise from our over estimating the worth of worldly things, but it would at the same time extinguish industry, frugality, and emulation; it would deaden the activity of every virtue, on the exercise of which your own happiness, and the welfare of society depend. My meaning is, that you should have a comparative contempt of this world; that you should esteem it's honours, it's profits, it's pleasures, not as absolutely evil in themselves and beneath your notice, but as relatively so, when compared with the honours, the profits, and the pleasures of the next. Christian virtue does not consist in your abstracting yourself from all the concerns of the world; but in not making them your chief concerns; not in debarring yourself from all the pleasures of society, but in not suffering pleasure of any kind to engage your principal attention, or to interfere

interfere in any degree, or on any occasion, with the means which the Gospel points out for your acquiring the blessings of Heaven.

In journeying through life, there is no harm in your endeavouring, by an honest exertion of your talents, to render your accommodations on the road as comfortable as you can; the harm consists in your being so wholly occupied in this business, in your placing so strongly your affections on these accommodations, as to think not at all, or but seldom, and slightly, on the end of your journey. Whilst you are on the earth, you cannot so spiritualize your nature as to have no connexion with it; but the eye of your faith should be steadily fixed on Heaven; every pursuit is commendable which will help to raise you thither; every gratification is innocent, which does not, directly or indirectly, retard you in your progress to it. Not that it will be prudent in you to indulge yourself to the utmost in practices which are not, strictly speaking, immoral; and the

reason why you should use some restraint is this—by accustoming yourself to moderation in the use of things lawful, you will more easily bend your mind to a total abstinence from things which are unlawful. No wise father grants his children even all the innocent indulgences which they ask for, because he wishes that they should acquire an habit of moderating and mortifying their desires: and no wise Christian will allow himself in the unbounded use of such pleasures as his fortune and situation in life will suffer him to enjoy; he will restrain himself, lest a giddy, easy, voluptuous life, should weaken his piety, undermine the solidity of his virtue, and rivet his affections to the earth; he will remember and apply the parable of the *Rich man* and *Lazarus*. True religion has no tendency to make men gloomy, but it has a direct tendency to make men serious; to repress that thoughtless levity, that strange indifference as to futurity, in which many persons, in other respects

respects not destitute of understanding, spend their days.

When you observe a man extravagantly delighted with the splendour of his apartments, with the elegance of his entertainments, with the great number of his servants, with the magnificence of his carriages, with the costliness of his apparel; with the rank and consequence, rather than with the sense and merit of his acquaintance; you may be persuaded that the mind of such a man is quite enervated and broken by the fascination of worldly vanity; he is a stranger to sentiments of real worth; so captivated with the love of the world, that he is quite alienated from the sober contemplation of the duties of religion, and the joys of heaven. You may form the same judgment of those women, who employ their time in studying how to adorn their persons with the greatest elegance; who are constantly hankering after some new fashion in dress, and charmed with it's singularity and extravagance; who are hurrying with impatience to every place

place of public entertainment; who are negligent of every thing but how they may attract the notice of the world, or find amusement in the emptiness of fashionable life. Women of this turn of mind may keep within what the world esteems the bounds of innocence, there may be no broad blot of infamy on their characters; yet are their dispositions poisoned by the vanities of life; *they think it strange that others run not with them to the same excess of riot* *; and affect to despise them for their sobriety and decency of manners; instead of contemning the world, they are totally enslaved by it; the objects it presents are the only ones which engage their attention; it's approbation is the end of their wishes; it's opinion the standard of their virtue. The Apostle rightly describes a woman of this sort when he says, *she that liveth in pleasure is dead while she liveth* †. An idle, thoughtless, extravagant, sensual, dissipated course of life, however customary it may be among persons of great

* 1 Pet. iv. 4. † 1 Tim. v. 6.

fortunes and expectations, is a reproach to them, and a scandal to the community. Their example is of pernicious consequence, I charge you not to suffer it to have any weight whatever with you; for it is contrary to that piety, decency, temperance, and sobriety of conduct, which the Gospel requires of all Christians; and, let the fashion of the world be what it may, it is your duty to obey the Gospel, *to escape the corruption that is in the world* *, *to let your conversation be as it becometh the Gospel of Christ* †.

You, perhaps, are placed in a lower station, and preserved by your situation from the practice of such vanities as I have here mentioned; and you may be given to the applauding of your own virtue in being free from them, and to the censuring others who are ensnared by them; but you should abstain from doing either, till your virtue has been tried in the same way, and you have surmounted the temptation. Examine your heart; does not there lurk in it an envious desire of the wealth which

* 2 Pet. i. 4. † Phil. i. 27. those

those persons enjoy? if there does, it is evident that your attachment to the vanities of the world is in principle as great as theirs; the root of folly is in you, though it be checked by the narrowness of your circumstances from shooting out into a luxuriant crop of extravagance and sin.

Those who are unhappily addicted to the pomp and pleasure of the world as their chief good, are not the only persons on whom the love of it has too strong an hold. They who are engaged in the acquisition of wealth, are seldom less free from it's influence. A proper attention to the improving your condition by exercising industry in your profession or calling is laudable; but to pursue every scheme of obtaining riches, with such ardour and anxiety as many men use; to have all your thoughts so fixed on the improvement of your fortune, as to neglect the means of improving your mind in Christian virtues, is a conduct highly culpable. I speak not of the tricks and frauds; of the acts of manifest oppression and injustice; of the

falsehoods and perjuries which men practise in their eager pursuit of wealth; for these are so clearly wrong, that it is impossible for you to be ignorant of the sin you will commit in being deliberately guilty of any of them; but I want to guard you against a too great solicitude, in prosecuting your worldly interests by means which are not reckoned dishonest.

There are many men, who, after rising up early, and late taking rest during six days of the week, are unwilling to allow themselves, their servants, or their cattle, any rest on the seventh. Sunday is with some the day on which the accounts in trade of the foregoing week are balanced, and new arrangements settled: I look upon this to be as great a profanation of the Sabbath, as if they were employed in manual labour; their hearts are as much wedded to the world on that as on any other day of the week. Others, especially in large manufacturing towns, follow their occupations privately; or exercise publicly on the roads of the kingdom, and in

the face of the magistrates, their ordinary callings on the Lord's Day without molestation or restraint. This is a scandalous practice, which has, within these few years, been suffered to prevail in many parts of the kingdom; there is no need of any new law to restrain it, there wants only a proper execution of the old ones; for our ancestors had more veneration for the Sabbath than we have, and made more provisions for it's due observation, than we are disposed to put in force. Men may plead in excuse for this enormity, the advantage of expedition in conveying goods and passengers from one place to another, and the general convenience of trade: but when the trade of a country is suffered to destroy all sense of religion in it's inhabitants; when the love of riches becomes the governing principle of individuals; and riches are coveted in order to administer to the flagitious luxury, and negligent impiety of large bodies of men; as surely as there is a God who governs the earth, so surely that nation is hastening to

it's ruin. But leaving that matter to the consideration of those whom it may concern, my business at present is to warn you, as an individual, against contributing your share to the evil. Let not the love of the world choke in your mind the good seed of religion; be moderate in your desires after wealth; contented with reasonable gains in your calling, and grudge not the employing every seventh day in attending to concerns neither very distant nor in any degree uncertain, and infinitely more important than any you can have here. The wealth you acquire here can do yourself little good, for the enjoyments it can procure you are quite imaginary; and it may not do your children any good at all: your care may be the occasion of their having no care; they may squander with thoughtless prodigality, what you have gathered with disgraceful parsimony; and this is still more likely to be the miserable event of all your labour, if you have, for the sake of getting wealth, either been dishonest in your dealing with men,

or

or negligent in your duty to God; for there is truth in the old observation which says, that—Ill-gotten wealth is soon spent. *An inheritance may be gotten hastily at the beginning; but the end thereof shall not be blessed* *.

In this world provision may be reasonably made for your well-being whilst you pass through it; but none ought to be made for your staying in it. The folly of mankind is in nothing more unaccountable, than in their living here as if they were always to live here. They reason very well concerning a part of their existence, but ill concerning the whole of it. They plant, and they build, adding house to house, and field to field, for a temporary accommodation; but they neglect the cultivation of piety, charity, and temperance, the advantages of which are everlasting. There is one light in which this world may be justly esteemed highly important—it is the school in which we are to be educated for heaven—and we

* Prov. xx. 21.

become guilty of great folly, when we view it in any other light.

He who considers himself as placed in this world in order to take his pleasure in it, will soon find that it's joys are neither great nor lasting. The sensual appetite is destroyed, and produces misery instead of happiness, if it be not kept within the strictest bounds of moderation; and if it be properly restrained, still the pleasure it affords is much lessened, if not wholly annihilated, by the disease and inability of enjoyment incident to old age. If he be bent on amassing wealth, *he will hate his labour, because he must leave it to the man that shall be after him, whether he be a wise man or a fool* *. If he be ambitious of acquiring rank in society, and desirous of transmitting his honours to his posterity; he cannot but see the nothingness of his pursuit when he reflects, that a few revolving ages will bury in utter oblivion the memory of himself, of his posterity, and probably of his country; or if a greater permanence should attend his civil

* Eccl. ii. 18, 19. pre-

preeminence, than the ordinary course of human affairs entitles him to expect, yet he must know, that, as to himself, there will be an absolute end of it in a very short time; and he cannot but have his apprehensions, that his posterity may be neither more virtuous, nor more happy, for the distinction to which he has raised them. Thus every pursuit of man which has not a tendency to improve his moral disposition, to render him pious, sober, benevolent, and fit for heaven, is, in strict truth, mere vanity. Yet is not life itself a vain thing, nor ought it to be despised by any one, how much soever he may despise the general labours of mankind, as a gift unworthy of God. No; this life is a great blessing, inasmuch as it is in itself a source of comfort to us here; but especially as it is the first link of a chain by which we may, if we think fit so to do, ascend into the highest heaven. Considered in this manner, life appears to be of the utmost possible consequence; all complaints of it's vanity must cease in the

the mind of him, whose heart is penetrated with this plain and certain truth—that on the use he makes of this life, his everlasting condition, as to happiness or misery, entirely and irreversibly depends.

You will form a wrong notion of heaven if you consider it as a place which God's goodness may put you in possession of, without your having previously acquired a disposition to enjoy it. God is undoubtedly very good, and I wish you always to look up to him as to a gracious and merciful Being, who hath no pleasure in the death of the wicked; but the declarations of Scripture, which denounce everlasting destruction on those who continue in unrighteousness, are express and frequent. God wisheth that all men should be saved, but he hath no where said that he will work a miracle to save any man, by changing his disposition; and without an holy disposition it is impossible that you should see God, or partake of the good things which he hath prepared for those that love him. It ought to be the one great

great business of your life to acquire this disposition; all other pursuits are but as the dust of the balance when compared with the weight of this; and this is an object which may be aimed at with equal hopes of success by men in every condition of life. You may not have as good a chance as your neighbour hath of becoming wealthy, powerful, or learned; but you have the same opportunity that he hath of following after righteousness, godliness, faith, love, patience, meekness; of these virtues you may certainly acquire as great a portion as he can; and without these, wealth, power, and learning, will be of no use to you, they will not procure you admittance into heaven, they will not enable you to lay hold on eternal life.

God is equally good to us in his threatenings and in his promises. By his promises he incites us to the practice of such virtues as are absolutely necessary to render us *meet to be partakers of the inheritance of the saints in light* *; and by his threatenings he warns us to avoid such a

* Col. i. 12.

course

course of action, such a temper of mind, as will, of natural consequence, exclude us from heaven. A father of a family cannot explain to his young children the nature of all the consequences which will attend their actions; yet out of goodness to them he threatens them with punishment for lying, swearing, cruelty, obstinacy, impiety, because he foresees that these vices will be utterly inconsistent with their happiness, when they arrive at man's estate. The universal Father, in like manner, we may believe, cannot explain to us in this first stage of our existence, the nature of all the consequences which will naturally attend a wicked course of life; yet out of infinite mercy to us he threatens us with punishment in another world for every sin committed in this, because he foresees that an habit of sinning will unfit us for the participation of heaven, and fatally plunge us into irretrievable misery. Thus all our actions have tendencies beyond the present scene, their moral influence is, in the order of nature, certain and everlasting.

Think

Think seriously of this matter; *have your conversation in heaven* *, *walk by faith* †; *set your affections on things above, not on things below* ‡, except so far as to make things below instruments of your attaining things above. Remember for what purpose you were born; through the whole of life look at it's end; and consider, when that comes, in what will you put your trust; — not in the bubble of worldly vanity, it will be broken—not in worldly pleasures, they will be gone—not in great connexions, they cannot serve you—not in wealth, you cannot carry it with you—not in rank, in the grave there is no distinction—not in the recollection of a life spent in a giddy conformity to the silly fashions of a thoughtless and wicked world, but in that of a life spent *soberly, righteously, and godly in this present world* §.

There is no caution more necessary to be given you, than that you be not conformed to the world, that you do not esteem every practice innocent which you see

* Phil. iii. 20. † 2 Cor. v. 7.

‡ Col. iii. 2. § Tit. ii. 12.

see sanctified by example; but that you make it your study to find out and walk in that narrow path, by how few soever you may see it frequented, which will certainly lead you to heaven. Men in general are very cold and negligent in their piety, much given to sensuality, and wholly occupied in the trifling concerns of this mortal life; you must endeavour not to be carried away with the stream, not to follow even a multitude to destruction, but to imitate persons of better judgment. There are some in every country, who live under a constant sense of their duty to God, who practise self-government, who consider themselves as strangers on earth, sitting loose to it's connexions, and aspiring after heaven as their only good. These are the persons whose company you should covet, whose example you should follow; you will see in them gentleness, patience, goodness, heavenly-mindedness, all those Christian virtues by the practice of which they have on earth a foretaste of heaven, peace of mind,

good-will of men, and a just confidence in God: *Be not you slothful, but a follower of them, who through faith and patience inherit the promises**.

I judge it needless to give you any direction as to your conduct towards your parents or relations, towards your superiors or equals, towards those in general with whom you may be connected, either by the natural ties of blood, or by the instituted relations of civil society; for you know very well your duty in these points; and if you will but act according to your knowledge, all will go well with you. I say you know your duty as a child, as a subject, as an apprentice, or an hired servant, and as a neighbour; for I presume you have learned your Catechism, and the answer which is given in it to the question, What is thy duty towards thy neighbour, explains in such a clear and concise manner the several branches of your duty, in whatever situation you may be placed in the world, that it would be superfluous to say any thing in addition to what is

* Heb. vi. 12.

there

there delivered. I have only to desire you to keep that answer always in your memory, and to act in conformity to it. Think not, because you were made to repeat that answer when you were a child in the presence of those who taught you your Catechism, that it is a childish thing, and may be forgotten by you when you are grown up; on the contrary, you will do well to repeat it every night of your life, with a due attention to the importance of every part of it; and to repent of and amend your conduct, if any of your actions in the preceding day has been in contradiction to it. This practice, if persevered in, will have a very beneficial effect on your temper and behaviour through life.

There is a failing, not uncommonly met with amongst young persons who have been piously and soberly educated, against which I must caution you—it consists in their being so afraid of the censure of the world, or, more properly speaking, of the ridicule of the most wicked and foolish part

part of the world, as to be ashamed of being thought virtuous and religious.—Having received principles of piety, benevolence, and self-government, from their parents, and finding, when they are pushed into the world, that they are often laughed at for their chastity, their temperance, their patience under insults, or their devotion; they pretend to be guilty of vices which they really avoid, and affect to conceal or disguise virtues which they really practise. It is not unusual to hear them scoffing at religion, lest they should be thought enthusiasts; boasting of a fiery and resentful temper, lest they should be deemed cowards; insinuating a shameful intercourse with abandoned women, lest they should not be esteemed men of gallantry; swearing at every word, that they may be looked upon as men of spirit; and abusing the frequenters of public worship as hypocrites, lest they themselves should incur the imputation of being superstitious. And all this is done by them in direct opposition to their own conscience; they inwardly tremble

at the terrors of the Gospel, and, for a time at least till they become hardened in sin, they secretly implore pardon of the Almighty for their open profaneness. But to young men of this disposition, and to all others, of whatever age, who, from a false shame and fear of the world's censure, dare not publicly profess their belief in the Gospel of Jesus Christ, dare not act up to what they think right, there is a short declaration made by our Saviour himself, which they would do well seriously to consider—*Whosoever shall be ashamed of me, and of my words, in this adulterous and sinful generation, of him also shall the Son of man be ashamed when he cometh in the glory of his Father* *.

There are some other sources of vanity besides worldly grandeur or wealth, against which you should be on your guard; but as they are not of a very general nature, and may probably apply to the case of few only, I shall but just mention them. I mean the vanity arising from ambition, and learning. To be ambitious of distinction in the world is a commendable

* Mark viii. 38.

quality,

quality, when it excites men to the performance of illustrious actions for the benefit of human kind. But this ambition is so seldom directed to it's proper end, and is so little scrupulous in the choice of the means which it employs for the accomplishment of it's purpose, that it frequently ruins the morals of those who are actuated by it; and thus for the pleasure of being lifted up for a moment above the common level of mankind, of being made a spectacle for silly people to admire and applaud, of having his ears stunned with the senseless noise of popularity, many a man has forfeited his character with the wise and good, and inflicted wounds on his conscience which the balm of flattering dependants can never heal.

The love of learning itself is not to be gratified beyond a certain limit; it must not be indulged to the injury of your health, nor to the hinderance of your virtue; of that virtue which is employed in discharging the duties of your station with firmness and activity. What will the

fame derived from the profoundest learning avail you, if you have not learned to be pious and humble and temperate and charitable? Your wisdom is nothing worth, unless you are wise in working out your salvation; your researches into the depths of philosophy are but the triflings of an idle mind, unless they teach you to search out God, to adore his inscrutable perfections, and to regulate all your conduct in obedience to his will. If the condition of your parents is such as enables them to give you a learned education, it will be a shame for you to disappoint their hopes by idleness and profligacy; you must use diligence in acquiring all the knowledge you can of such branches of study as you shall be directed to cultivate; but you must not suffer the praises you hear bestowed on learning to induce you to believe that there is nothing more excellent as a qualification; for piety is more excellent, so is benevolence, so is sobriety, so is every virtue which adorns a Christian. You must not let your knowledge puff you up with vanity, for there

there can be no cause for your presumption. You may know a little more than those who have not been instructed as well as you have been, or than those whom God hath not favoured with as good talents as he hath given you; but those who know the most of any subject know so little of it, that their knowledge is to them only a more convincing proof than other men have, of the great and general weakness of the human understanding; if your knowledge produces that reflection in you, instead of vanity, it's fruit will be humility; and if it does not produce it, it deceives you.

To all the motives by which I have endeavoured to stir up your mind to the practice of religious duties, I will add one more; and it is a motive of such vast weight, that if it produces no effect in you, I shall despair of being able to do you good in any other way, than by praying to God that he would soften the obduracy of your heart; for you must be, young as you are, either hardened through the deceitfulness of sin, or corrupted by

the influence of worldly custom, or ruined by a neglected education. The motive I mean is—a Judgment to come.—If there was to be an end of all, when there is an end of life, you would be in some measure at liberty to make your choice between virtue and vice; and though you would make a bad choice in preferring impiety, injustice, and debauchery, as principles of conduct, before the fear of God, honesty, and sobriety; yet, as the effects of your bad choice would terminate with your life, your folly might admit some excuse. But this is not the case, the end of this mortal life is the beginning of one which will have no end; you must lead an eternal life in another world, whether you desire to do it or not. Have you ever seriously thought how long this future life will last? Yes, you will tell me, you know it will last for ever. You answer right; but have you weighed the importance of the word—EVER?—It is a little word, and soon passes the lips, but the largest capacity cannot fully comprehend it's meaning. Compare it with a thousand,

a thousand, or with ten thousand, or with ten times ten hundred thousand years, and you will find the longest period you can imagine, to be so greatly exceeded by it as to be absolutely no part of it at all. A grain of sand is a part of the earth, a drop of water is a part of the ocean, but the greatest number of years is no part of eternity. This consideration is wonderful in itself, but it becomes inexpressibly interesting when you know that nothing less than this eternity will be the measure of the length of your future life. How would you wish to spend this endless life? There is no doubt you will say—happily. God is very good to you, he has provided for you means of happiness in the other world, far exceeding any thought you can form of them in this; but this happiness will not become yours till you have stood your trial; and the issue of that trial may be, not happiness, but misery; misery in degree unspeakable, in duration endless! But perhaps you hope that, when you are brought to your trial, the mercy of God will pardon your

sin through the merits of Jesus Christ; alas! the very best of men, those who have spent their whole lives in piety, righteousness, self-government and contempt of the world, will be obliged to rest all their hopes of salvation on that ground; and *if the righteous scarcely be saved, where shall the ungodly and the sinner appear*?* If pious resolutions in sickness, and a few sorrowful sighs when men can sin no more, could save them through the merits of Christ, he himself would not have said—*strait is the gate and narrow is the path which leadeth unto life, and few there be that find it*†—for every man might find it; the whole world might walk in it; it would be broad enough to admit men staggering *with excess of wine*‡, tottering with the diseases of lasciviousness, bloated by ambition, blinded by avarice, encumbered by vices of every kind. If the righteousness of Christ is to be so imputed to mankind, that it will save them who have done nothing to save themselves, our present life would not be represented

* 1 Pet. iv. 18. † Matt. vii. 14. ‡ 1 Pet. iv. 3.

represented in Scripture as a *warfare*, a *race*, a *combat*, in which we must fight against the flesh, the world, and the devil; for we might, on that supposition, be the fast friends of them all through life, and yet be saved at the end of it. *But, little children, let no man deceive you; he that doeth righteousness is righteous*. Neither fornicators, nor idolaters, nor adulterers, nor effeminate, nor abusers of themselves with mankind, nor thieves, nor covetous, nor drunkards, nor revilers, nor extortioners, shall inherit the kingdom of God†.*

I have now given you, in as plain a manner as I could, my advice on some of the most important points that can possibly engage the attention of any human being. There is little in what I have written which is above your comprehension at present, nothing undeserving your attention at any time; I hope you will not read negligently, what I have written faithfully, and with a sincere desire to serve your best interests. You must not consider this address as a matter of course, which may be once read,

* 1 John iii. 7. † 1 Cor. vi. 9, 10. and

and forgotten for ever; I hope it will be read often, and remembered always. I have been at some trouble in stepping out of the ordinary way, that I might prevail upon you, who are placed in the midst of a crooked and perverse generation, to set out and persevere in the right way. Long before you will have attained the full vigour of your age, I shall, probably, be called to render an account of my labours; Oh! that I may then have the comfort of knowing, that this my zeal for your salvation has not been without it's use! May *the very God of Peace sanctify you wholly: and I pray God your whole spirit, and soul, and body, be preserved blameless unto the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ* *, when *the trumpet shall sound and the dead shall be raised* †, when the state of every individual, and of you and me among the rest, shall be fixed for ever and ever.

I am

Your faithful Servant in Jesus Christ,

RICHARD LANDAFF.

* 1 Thess. v. 23. † 1 Cor. xv. 52.

AN

ANSWER

TO THE

"DISQUISITION ON
GOVERNMENT AND CIVIL LIBERTY;"

IN

A LETTER

TO THE AUTHOR OF

"DISQUISITIONS
ON SEVERAL SUBJECTS."

1782.

AN

ANSWER,

&c.

SIR,

I YESTERDAY read your "Disquisitions on several Subjects:" I pass over them all without animadversion, except the Seventh, which you have entitled, "On Government and Civil Liberty:"—Nor would this have attracted my notice, but from it's tendency to disseminate principles *absurd, false, mischievous, as inconsistent with common sense as with all human society.* If you think these are hard terms, you must be content to submit to them; they are not of my coinage; they bear the stamp of your own authority, for they are the very terms you have thought proper to bestow on those who differ from you in opinion.

I make

I make no question of your sincerity in what you write, nor do I question your ability; but you have given every body great occasion to question your modesty and good manners. The principles of Locke and Lord Somers, of Hooker, and of Puffendorf, to say nothing of living authors, as honest and as intelligent, probably, as yourself, deserved to be treated with respect; harsh language is a disgrace to a good cause, and the worst cannot support a bad one: I will endeavour not to imitate your example.

You have undertaken to subvert the principles of Mr. Locke and his disciples by ridicule and by reason; your ridicule is misplaced, and your reasoning is inconclusive: your ridicule is misplaced, for the subject is of great importance; whether your reasoning be inconclusive or not, let the public judge.

You have reduced your adversaries principles of government to the five following propositions:—1. That all men are born equal:—2. That all men are born free:

free:—3. That all government is derived from the people:—4. That all government is a compact between the governors and the governed:—5. That no government ought to last any longer than it continues to be of equal advantage to the two contracting parties; that is, to the governed, as to the governors.

I acknowledge that most of these propositions are fairly and perspicuously stated; and I hope to shew that you have no other merit in treating them.

That all men are born equal.—This is the first proposition which you are determined to demolish; but you do not seem to me, from the nature of your attack, to comprehend it's meaning; if you cannot admit it's truth, except upon the poor quibble of all men being equally born, you had better deny it altogether. You speak of the different situations in which men are born with respect to beauty, health, wisdom, genius, fortunes and honours, and profess that you cannot understand how they can be said to be

born equal; nor was there ever a man of common sense who could understand it; nor can you produce a single author of any credit, or of no credit, from Aristotle to the newspaper politicians of the present times, who ever contended that men were born to this kind of equality. No, Sir, the state of equality we speak of is quite a different thing; it is that state "wherein all power and jurisdiction is reciprocal, no one having more than another;" it respects that freedom from subordination, which, antecedent to civil compact, belongs to every individual of our species, who is arrived at years of discretion; it has not the most distant relation to one man's being two feet taller, or twice as strong as another; the tall man may overlook the little man, but he has not thereby acquired the right of prohibiting him the use of his eyes; the strong man may overcome the weak one in a single combat, but that gives him no right to commence it; he can have no right to kick and cuff his fellow, because

because he may be able to do it with impunity.

Power, wealth, and wisdom may be the means of introducing a subordination amongst mankind, but this subordination must be *voluntary* on one side, or it will be nothing but *unjust force*, *rank tyranny*, on the other. You are born a duke, marquis, earl, viscount, baron, or what is more despotic than all these put together, a Tory country gentleman; you have power enough to do a peasant, or a mechanic, any poor plebeian, an injury;—but did your birth, when it gave you the power, give you also the right of doing it? You are born to wealth; thank your ancestors for your good fortune, but do not think that it entitles you to domineer over him who was born to none. You are possessed of a great natural genius, your brain has been cast in a better mould than that of your neighbour; thank God for your intellectual pre-eminence; use your wisdom for your own benefit and the good of others; but leave them to be judges of

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that good; they may have no relish for the good which your wisdom may point out; you can be no judge of their feelings, can have no right to compel them to be wise in your way, against their will.

But this natural freedom from subordination, and that is the equality contended for, is so clear, that no more need be said on the subject; and you yourself seem to admit it, when you ask—"But, supposing "they were all born equal, would this "prove, what is always intended to be "proved by it, that they ought always to "continue so?"—Intended! by whom? I never yet saw a writer on the subject, who had any intention of the kind. You again mistake, I will not say misrepresent, for that implies a principle of which I hope you are incapable; but you mistake the meaning of your opponents, and display your valour in fighting a phantom of your own forming. Who has ever said that men, because they were born equal, *ought*, were under an obligation, to continue equal? Because we do not grant that any man has

a *natural* right to rule over another, must we of necessity grant that he cannot have an adventitious one? You have no right to rule me, nor have I any right to rule you; we are at this instant in a state of equality with respect to each other, the next may introduce a state of subordination; for my own advantage I make an agreement with you, for a sum of money, or other consideration, I give you a right to dispose of my time and labour; I am no longer your equal, but it was my own voluntary act which made me your inferior. Men are born equal; for their own advantage, for the sake of enjoying peace and protection, they elect a magistrate; they are no longer his equals, but it was their own voluntary act which made them his inferiors; and they *ought*, (if that be the meaning of your *ought*) they *ought to be permitted to continue equal*, till they have constituted to themselves a superior.—You triumphantly ask, "Must no man *assume* power over another, because they were born equal?" I plainly tell you, No, he must not; if he does, he *assumes* what he

he has no right to; God has not given him the right, man cannot give it him; nor can he acquire it by any other means than the concession of him over whom it is to be exerted. This concession is the only firm and true principle of civil subordination; it will last, and bow down a man's neck to the *voluntary* yoke of legal government, when the struggles to shake off an *involuntary* bondage, shall burst into a thousand pieces the chains of despotism. Thus may you see that this mighty argument, drawn from the equality of mankind, by which all powers and principalities are established on their surest bases, is entirely true, and cannot be too often or too solemnly introduced, especially when "*many* "*absurd principles concerning government* " and slavery, *have of late been disseminated* " *with unusual industry.*"

That all men are born free—is the second proposition which offends you. I think the proof of this is included in that of the former. For, if all men are born equal to each other, with respect to their

want of power over each other, they certainly must be equally free: where there is no *natural* subordination, there can be no *natural* government, for government of every kind implies subordination, and where there is no natural government there is natural freedom. In your endeavours to refute this proposition, you have not, indeed, trifled with Sir Robert Filmer, by attempting to prove that men are not born naturally free, from children being born in subjection to their parents, or in deriving royal despotic authority from the paternal authority of Adam; you have not plagued your readers with this solemn nonsense; but you certainly do trifle with their patience, in proving the little claim man can have to freedom, from his being confined in the womb, swathed by his nurse, flogged by his schoolmaster, or hanged by his magistrate. All this is humour, but it is not argument: it is wit, but without judgment: I cannot employ my time in refuting it. You grow serious, and represent a factious and turbulent dispo-

disposition, and an impatience of control, as disqualifying a man from being a member of a future celestial community.—So, then, the affair is quite over with us, both here and hereafter: the Tories only are to go to heaven: they have long shut the door of St. James in the face of the Whigs, and they think that St. Peter will be their porter, and perform the same service for them in an higher place. Sad reasoning this! Is every man who raises a tumult, to tumble from his throne a tyrant or an usurper, unfit for heaven? Is every man who groans when he is oppressed, or kicks when he is unjustly goaded, turbulent and unfit for heaven? Is an impatience of control, which may neither be directed by wisdom, nor prompted by goodness, nor founded in justice, to be proscribed as unfit for the communion of the blessed? On this supposition what must become of St. Paul and the Apostles, and all the Christian martyrs? they were men of turbulent dispositions, for they turned the world upside down! Be a little charitable,

formed us with capacities for happiness which cannot be fully attained without society, and society cannot subsist without some being intrusted with power to control the actions of others. In this way, government, as well as every other constitution of nature, may be truly said to be the appointment of God. But what has this to do with the form of any particular government, with the degree of trust, the extent of the control necessary for the existence of government? these we know are infinitely various in different countries; and we contend, that in all *just* governments, the people have delegated to their governors the particular degree of trust with which they are invested, have limited the extent of the control to which they are to be subjected. This truth forces itself upon your own mind, it's power is great, you cannot resist it; you acknowledge in it's full extent all that the warmest of your opponents ever contended for; and you acknowledge it in the very place where you are reasoning against it. In one page

you

you say, that "the inference usually "drawn from this proposition (that all "government is derived from the people) "is utterly false; which is, that, because "all government is derived from the "people, the people have a right to "resume it, and administer it themselves "whenever they please." In the opposite page you acknowledge, "that the people "in every country have a right to resist "manifest grievances and oppressions, to "*change* their governors and even their "constitution, on great and extraordinary "occasions." Now what does this amount to, but a right to resume and administer the government as they shall see fit, and whenever they are *pleased* to think the occasion great and extraordinary? for if they are pleased to think it so, it is so in effect; their thinking it so does not make it so, but the consequence must be the same as if it was so. The governed may be in an error, in thinking any particular occasion great and extraordinary; or the governors may be in an error, in thinking it

it not so; but there being no judge on earth to decide which is in the right, the actions of both sides must be the same as if both were in the right. Thus you acknowledge, with the most zealous Lockian amongst us, the abstract right of the people. As to the practicability of exercising it, that is quite another question, in the decision of which a great many circumstances may arise which cannot be foreseen in speculation or generally estimated. It was exercised at the Revolution; and we trust that there will never, in this country, be occasion to exercise it again; for we hope, and are persuaded, that the wisdom of the House of Hanover will keep at an awful distance from the throne, men professing principles which have levelled with the dust the House of Steuart.

You are very severe upon those, whom you are pleased to call our modern demagogues, because they have not explained to your satisfaction what they mean by the terms "the people." You represent them,

them, injuriously enough, as excluding from that denomination the peers of the realm, and the representatives of the people, the pastors of the church, and the sages of the law, the magistrates, the land-holders, the stock-holders, and the merchants, as expecting public spirit from the garrets of Grub-street, reformation from the purlieus of St. Giles, a Solon from the tin-mines of Cornwall, and a Lycurgus from the coal-pits of Newcastle. This is mere declamation, if not something worse, defamation. I never heard, nor, I will take upon me to say, did you ever hear any one of the demagogues you speak of, annexing to the terms "the people," the sense you have here represented them as annexing. Your imagination has in this, as in other parts of your Disquisition, run away with your good sense. Your description is lively, but it is not just; you may have supported your point, but you will have ruined, with thinking men, the opinion they might have been disposed to entertain of your candour.

But

But that you may not be at a loss to know what your modern demagogues understand by "the people;" I will tell you what the Prince of Orange understood by them, for that, I take it, is the sense in which they understand the terms, and in which every man of sense must understand them. The Prince explains his sentiment, in the 25th paragraph of his Declaration, wherein he invites and requires *all persons whatsoever* (here is no exclusion, even of tinners and colliers) all the peers of the realm, both spiritual and temporal, all lords lieutenants, deputy-lieutenants, and all gentlemen, citizens, and other *commons of all ranks*, to come and assist him in the execution of his design, to re-establish the constitution of the English government.

We come to the fourth proposition, That all government is a compact between the governors and the governed.—You would have better expressed our meaning, had you put into your proposition one little word more, and instead of all government, said,

said, all *just* government; for none of us are so ignorant as not to know the effects of conquest and violence, of circumvention and fraud, in the infringement or subversion of natural rights. You have the modesty to style all that has been written on this subject, by men of the most comprehensive intellects, and the deepest penetration, " *a ridiculous fiction,* " *intended* only to subvert all government, " and let mankind loose to prey upon each " other." I do not believe that any one of those, in any age or country, who have embraced the opinion in question, ever entertained the least particle of that *intention* which you have, with so much liberality and so little delicacy, attributed to them all. I can certainly, however, answer for one of the chief supporters of this doctrine, that he had no *intention* to subvert government. Hear his own words when he is speaking of the papers which contained the beginning and end of his Treatise of Government; " These (papers) " which remain, I hope, are sufficient to

" *establish*

" *establish* the throne of our great restorer,
" our present King William; to make
" *good* his title in the *consent* of the people;
" which, being the only one of all *lawful*
" governments, he has more fully and
" clearly than any Prince in Christendom."
I have so great an opinion of Mr. Locke's sincerity, that I cannot believe he speaks of a *ridiculous fiction*, when he derives the title of King William to the throne, from the consent of the people, and prefers it to that of every other prince in Christendom. I cannot believe that he *intended* to *subvert* all government, because he says, he hoped not to subvert, but to *establish* the throne of our great restorer. It would be easy to pursue this matter, and to shew that all the other distinguished patrons of a social compact had as little intention to let mankind loose to prey upon each other as Mr. Locke had.

You call this compact a fiction; an hundred instances might be produced of it's reality, both in the history of our own and other countries; and the coronation-

oath

oath still subsists as a proof of it. But, meaning to make this Answer as short as possible, I will not take up your time on this head, but refer you to the Eighth chapter of the Second book of Mr. Locke's Treatise on Government; and to a little book, which has either never fallen into your hands, or you have forgotten it's contents, and from the perusal of which, you will see abundant reason to retract your hasty assertion, "that a compact "between the people and their rulers, is a "ridiculous fiction." This book is entitled, "The Judgment of whole Kingdoms and Nations, concerning the Rights, Power, and Prerogative of Kings, and the Rights, Privileges, and Properties of the People." This book is said to be the work of Lord Somers, but whether it be so or not, I do not inquire; certain I am, that the learning and good reasoning contained in it would have done honour to him, or any other man.

In treating this fourth proposition, you seem not to comprehend it's meaning. It

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is painful to me to make this remark. On any other subject, you would have reasoned better; but this is a subject which requires deep and serious reflection, more than a brilliancy of fancy or expression. "Compact," you say, "is repugnant to the very "nature of government, whose essence is "compulsion." The essence of government, *after it is established*, is compulsion; but the essence of the establishment of government is compact, tacit or express. These are quite different things; you will presently understand the distinction. Suppose an hundred common sailors to be shipwrecked upon an island inhabited by savages, it is evident that there is no manner of government amongst these men; some may be taller, or stronger, or younger, or wiser, than the rest, but still they are all equal to each other with respect to subordination; no one has any authority to regulate the actions of his fellow. For mutual preservation they will soon wish to withdraw themselves from this state of equality, and, in the strictest

sense

sense of the word, anarchy, they will elect a leader; the wisest, probably, and the boldest man amongst them, will, by their common suffrage, be made their governor; and, in order that this governor may be of use to them, they will promise to obey him whilst he acts for the common good. Now begins compulsion, but it is compulsion arising from consent and compact; it is in it's existence *subsequent* to the establishment of that government of which it constitutes the essence.

You say, by way of invalidating the notion of compact, that " if every man " had a right to surrender his independence " on bargain, he must have an equal right " to retain it." I admit that he has that right, but it is a right which his interest will not suffer him to retain for any length of time; or if he does retain it, it must be at his own peril. Suppose one of our hundred sailors should refuse to elect any leader, that one is in a state of natural independence with respect to all the rest; the leader has no authority over him; he

is at liberty to protect himself, by his own strength, from the attacks of savages and wild beasts; but a very few days experience would convince him, that his protection would be better secured by an hundred arms than by one; he would soon be induced to become a member of that community into which the rest had entered; he would be *induced* to it, but he ought not to be *compelled* to it. You seem to apprehend that robberies and murders, rapine and bloodshed, would universally take place if this right of retaining their independence belonged to mankind. This is an idle fear. Men would not retain it, because it would be for their interest to give it up; they would not retain it, because, instead of their not being amenable to any human tribunal for their enormities, as you assert, they would be answerable for them to every man they met. Every man would have a right to kill a murderer, to apprehend a robber, and to inflict an adequate punishment upon every other violator of

the law of nature. This right, which, in the words of Mr. Locke, " every man " hath to punish the offender, and to be " the executioner of the law of nature," removes at once all the absurdities you think your opponents have fallen into. And had you read often, and thoroughly digested, the writings of that great man, who stands unmoved as a rock of adamant amid the frothy ebullitions of censure which have of late been levelled at his principles, you would neither have been so free in the use of such unbecoming terms, as absurdities, ridiculous fictions, extravagant principles, fallacious propositions, &c. nor have thereby set an example which the Writer of this Letter disdains to imitate, though you have afforded him abundant opportunity of doing it with success.

That no government ought to subsist any longer than it continues to be of equal advantage to the governed as to the governors.—This is the last proposition which has become the object of your

animadversion. It is not so clearly stated as the preceding ones; nor does your attempt to refute it, render it more intelligible. It makes a distinction where there ought to be no difference; it intimates that the advantage of a governor may be different from that of the governed, whereas they ought always to be the same. But should the case happen to be otherwise, who can have any hesitation in saying, that the advantage of the governor will be as light as air, when weighed against that of the people; the *salus populi* is, and ought to be, the supreme law. Consider the advantage which each of the contracting parties expects to enjoy. The people look for the protection of their persons and properties, not only from foreign and domestic violence, but from the encroachments of the Prince himself. The Prince expects pre-eminence; it may be a painful pre-eminence, but he deems it desirable, and accepts it. Put the pre-eminence of the Prince, and the means of sustaining it, to become incompatible with

with the protection of the people and the common safety, and shew us, if you can, the nature of the chain which, in such a circumstance, will bind the people to their prince. It will be a chain unjustly formed, by the will of one, to gall the necks of millions. The standing armies of France, or Spain, or Russia, or Prussia, or Germany, or Turkey, may rivet it in their respective countries, but in all of them (for all these kinds of government are the offsprings of force or fraud) according to your own most just, candid, and liberal concession, " the people have " an equal right to preserve or regain " their liberty whenever they are able." Whose principles now, think you, lay a foundation for sedition, treason, tumult, rebellion, and subversion of government? Those of the man who asserts, that " all " the governments we see (no exception, " you perceive, for our own) are the " offsprings of force or fraud, of accident, " and the circumstances of the times, and " must perpetually change with those

" circumstances; that in all of them, the " people have an equal right to preserve " or regain their liberty whenever they " are able;" or those of him who contends, that the House of Hanover reigns here by the consent of the people, and that whilst it maintains the conditions on which it was exalted to the throne inviolate, the compact ought to be perpetual.

You have not well explained the nature of the advantage which governors and the governed derive from the instituted relation which they bear to each other. It does not consist in the possessing, or not possessing, wealth and power. The poorest man has some property; he has a person at least which he wishes to protect from violence. It is the security of this little property, the protection of limb and life from pain and extinction, which constitute the advantage he hopes to obtain by entering into society; he knows that wealth either descends from ancestry, is flung into his lap by fortune, or is to be acquired by industry; he

expects

expects that government will secure to him the possession of what he can honestly get, but he is not wild enough to expect that it will put him in possession of what does not belong to him. The principal advantage which the governor derives from his station, is the consciousness of discharging his high trust with fidelity. His power of executing, or even of ordaining laws, of making war or peace, of conferring honours or rewarding merit; these and other appendages of his high office, can be of no sort of advantage to him as an individual, except so far as they are exerted in perfect coincidence with the advantage of the community, as they enable him to fulfil the greatest of all human duties, the duty of the supreme magistrate to the people, over whom he presides. In the discussion of this last question, I really expected, for the subject naturally led to it, that you would have taken a larger field, that you would have entered upon our Irish or American disputes, and shewn that it was the duty of

both these people to have suffered our government over them to subsist, when the advantages resulting to them, the governed, and to us the governors, were no longer equal, or, which may be as true, were thought to be no longer equal: I expected that you would have cleared up a doubt which has occupied the minds of our best politicians.—Whether men have a natural right, a civil right is nothing to the purpose, to withdraw themselves from any civil community, when they are of opinion they can better secure to themselves the advantages of civil society elsewhere. Had you taken such a route as this, you might probably have bewildered me in brakes and thickets; I might have lost both sight and scent of you; but as you have contented yourself with running on in the beaten track, there is no need why upon this occasion, I should entangle myself in thorns and briers which lie out of my way.

Having done with the propositions, you come to general observations, and descend,

I fear,

I fear, from reasoning to railing, for what other name will the world give to the following extract,—"In short, all these "wild and extravagant principles are the "production of *ignorance* or *ambition*, "invented and propagated, either by those "who are unacquainted with human "nature and human government, or those "who endeavour to render it impracti-"cable in the hands of others, that it "may fall into their own."—I can hardly forbear the use of some of *your* appellations. Consider, Sir, what you have said; —were all those illustrious men, who by the most consummate virtue, and at the hazard of every thing that was dear to them, accomplished the Revolution, *ignorant* or *ambitious?* Are the lords and commons of the present times, their number is not small, who resolutely maintain those principles, *ignorant* or *ambitious?* Is there not one grain of public virtue, one spark of pure patriotism amongst them? Are they distinguished by nothing but *ignorance* or *ambition?* Do you

you think that they are not as well acquainted with human nature and human government as yourself? Must every man be a fool or a knave, ignorant of mankind, or desirous of rendering government impracticable in the hands of others, that it may fall into his own, who cannot subscribe to the political creed of the author of "Disquisitions on several Subjects?"

But you seem to me to entertain a bad opinion of human kind; this appears in many parts of your Disquisition, but in none more remarkably than where you say you are persuaded, that "if an angel "were sent from heaven, vested with "irresistible power to govern any country "upon earth, and was to execute his "commission with the utmost degree of "wisdom, justice, and benevolence, his "dominions would very soon be deserted "by most of the inhabitants; who would "rather choose to suffer mutual injuries "and oppressions, however grievous, "under any government in which they "themselves had a share, than to be

"compelled

"compelled to be virtuous and happy by "any superior authority whatever." What, if I should simply say, that compulsion and happiness could not exist together, there would be an end of your fine period; and yet it is true, you may as soon compel a man not to feel compulsion, as to be happy when he is compelled to be so. But the whole observation is without foundation. I conceive, that in the government you describe, there would not be a single murmur, there would be no compelling men to be virtuous, they would be virtuous out of choice; their virtue would consist in a perfect obedience to this angel; and they could have no temptation to be disobedient. The angel, on your supposition, would have the utmost wisdom to provide for the happiness of each individual, the utmost benevolence to induce him to make this provision, and irresistible power to effect his purpose. Shew me in all the world a prince with the perfections of this angel, and I will shew you a people happy, content,

content, grateful, and obedient, even to a degree beyond the passive conceptions of the most determined Tory.

I have not wilfully misrepresented any thing you have said, or designedly treated you with disrespect; I have, therefore, no apologies to make to you on that score; but I ought to beg your pardon for my presumption on another. I have indulged a fond hope, that by printing this *Brochure* in the manner I have done, it may have some chance of arresting the curiosity of posterity, by it's existence being continued to it under covering and protection of your book; that the feeble antidote it contains may restore the constitution of some Whig succumbing under the virulence of your poison, when this mortal coil shall be no more, and the authors of the poison and it's antidote shall sleep in peace.

London, March 16, 1782.

PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS,

BY

THE BISHOP OF LANDAFF,

TO

MR. PRINGLE'S

"GENERAL VIEW OF THE AGRICULTURE OF THE COUNTY OF WESTMORELAND."

PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS,

&c.

Extent of the County.

THE County of Westmoreland was surveyed in 1768, and a Map of it, upon a scale of an inch to a mile, was engraved by Thomas Jeffreys, Geographer to his Majesty, in 1770. It appears, from this map, that the greatest breadth of the county, from it's southern boundary, near Burton, to it's northern one, near Penrith in Cumberland, is thirty-two miles, and that it's greatest length, from east to west, is forty miles.

I covered this map very exactly with fine writing paper, except the Estuary near Millthorpe and Windermere Lake; I then cut out a slip of the paper of an inch in breadth, and of ten inches in length, and weighed it accurately; from another

another part of the same paper I cut another slip, two inches in breadth, and five in length, and found it to be precisely of the same weight as the first slip; and hence, as the surfaces of the two slips were equal, we may collect that the paper was of an uniform thickness. The area of each of these slips was ten square inches, and consequently covered a space on the map equal to ten square miles. I then weighed the whole of the paper which had covered the map, and by comparing the weight of the whole with the weight of what had covered ten square miles, I found the number of square miles in the whole to be 844; now there are 640 statute acres in a square mile, and consequently 540,160 acres in the whole county.

I measured this map in the ordinary way by resolving it into triangles, and found it's area to be equal to 636 square miles, or 407,040 statute acres.

Templeman, in his Survey of the Globe, makes the area of the county of Westmoreland equal to 633 square miles, and con-

consequently, according to him, it contains 405,120 acres. The medium of these three different estimates (though I am most disposed to rely on the first) is 450,772.

Professor *Zimmerman*, in his Political Survey of Europe, estimates England and Wales at 54,112 square miles, amounting to 34,631,680 statute acres. *Templeman*, in the work above-mentioned, says that England and Wales contain 49,450 square miles, or 31,648,000 statute acres; the mean of these two gives 33,139,840 statute acres for the whole surface of England and Wales; and hence the county of Westmoreland may, in superficial content, be esteemed a seventy-third part of England and Wales.

Proportion between the Cultivated and Waste Lands in the County.

In 1689, when a bounty was first granted on the exportation of corn, one third part of the land in England and Wales, or about eleven millions of acres, was supposed to lie in uncultivated commons; if

this

this was then a just proportion between the cultivated and waste parts of the kingdom, we may safely conclude, that much above one third part of Westmoreland was then waste land; as it is evident, from a bare view of the county, that few, if any counties in England have, in proportion to their whole extent, so much uncultivated land as this has. The many inclosures which have taken place, during the last hundred years, have lessened in some degree the waste land of the whole kingdom; but no inclosures of much consequence have taken place in Westmoreland. Instead of one third, I am disposed to conjecture that three fourth parts of Westmoreland consist of uncultivated land: I will state my reasons for this conjecture, being as sensible as any person can be of the objections which may be made to it; but in a matter where there are no *data* to proceed upon, a conjectural argument may be allowed.

It appears, by the return made, by the overseers of the poor, to the House of

Commons, that the sum raised by assessment in all the parishes and townships of the county, at a medium of three years, ending in 1785, amounted to 5,757 *l.* The town of Kendall, including Kirkland, is the only large town in the county; it is found, by an actual survey made this year, to contain 8,089 inhabitants, having experienced an increase of 518 inhabitants since the year 1784; of the present number, 143, or about one fifty-sixth part of the whole, are *paupers* living in the workhouse. The poor rates of this town amounted, according to the same return, to 1,125 *l.* a year; this sum being subducted from the annual amount of all the poor rates in the county, leaves 4,632 *l.* for the sum raised from all the estates in the county, exclusive of Kendall. From particular inquiries in various parishes, I am of opinion, that the poor rates do not, in this county, exceed a shilling in the pound, in the actual rental of all the lands; but a shilling in the pound (supposing the sum annually raised to be 4,632 *l.*) will give a rental

rental of 92,640 *l.* All the land in Westmoreland, which can either be ploughed or mown for hay, is worth at least a rent of a pound a statute acre on an average; and hence it may be inferred, that 100,000 acres of such land, or less than one-fourth part of the whole, would yield a rental equal to, if not exceeding, the rental of the county. The high inclosed rough pastures are let from one to five shillings an acre. But whether the uncultivated land in Westmoreland be equal to three fourths, or one half of the whole, it cannot be questioned, that there is so much of it, as to render it's improvement a matter not only of individual concern, but of national importance.

Improvement of Waste Lands.

The uncultivated lands in Westmoreland are of various sorts, with respect to soil and situation, and capable of different sorts of improvement. Some of them consist of extensive commons in low situations, and are of an excellent soil; these might

be improved by inclosures, without any risk of loss by the undertaking. Others constitute extensive mountainous districts, called by the natives *fells* and *moors*; the soil of these is, generally speaking, an hazel mould. In it's natural state, it produces little else than a coarse benty grass, heath, and fern; or, in the language of the country, ling and brackens. Many of these fells are, in their present state, of so little value, that the liberty of keeping ten sheep on them may be hired for sixpence a year. Supposing six acres to be sufficient for the maintenance of ten sheep, the rent of such land is a penny an acre; and the price of the fee simple of it, at twenty-four years purchase, two shillings. Whilst there is an acre of such waste, improveable land in Great Britain, it may be hoped that, when the legislature shall turn it's attention to the subject, no inhabitant of the island will be driven, by distress, to seek a subsistence in Africa or America.

Above forty years ago an experiment was tried in Spain, with respect to the cultivation

cultivation of waste lands. Several thousands of poor and vagabond people were settled on them at the expense of the government. If this experiment has succeeded (which may be easily known) so far, as that the land has been made productive, that the settlers have been increased, and that the government has been reimbursed the whole or a principal part of it's expense, it may induce other governments to adopt the same or a similar plan. The giving a cottage, and a few acres of land, under a small reserved rent, and perhaps under other useful restrictions, to a poor man, is certainly a good way of improving the land. When a man has lands of his own, he and his family will exert, in it's cultivation, a quantity of labour which would not otherwise be brought into existence. The value of this, otherwise non-existing labour is, in one respect, nothing; it ought not to be reckoned as a part of the expense attending the improvement of the land; and, on that account, many thousands of acres of

land might be brought into cultivation, which would not, in any other way, pay the expense of improvement. The manner of improving moor-land, by paring, burning, liming, &c. is well understood by some few individuals, and the advantage resulting from it ascertained, by what has been recently practised in some parts of the county on private estates.

There are many barren mountains in this county, which do not admit improvement by paring and burning, and which are incapable of being profitably converted either into arable or good pasture land: Yet the highest and most craggy parts, two acres of which do not afford sustenance for six months in the year to one sheep, might, with a great prospect of success, be planted with larches; I say with a great prospect of success, for I do not speak with certainty, not knowing whether there are in Great Britain any plantations of larch made on such exposed and rocky situations as are here spoken of: But, on the other hand, it is known

that

that the larch grows in Italy on higher mountains than any that we have in this island; and not only that it grows in Italy, where the climate is less severe than in Great Britain, but that it grows in the north of Russia, where it is much more severe; for at Archangel, in the latitude of 64°, ships are built of larch growing in that climate.

It may be of use to state the probable profit which would attend planting the land in question with larch. A thousand acres of this sort of land might be inclosed with a circular wall six feet in height (where the stones can be easily gotten, as they may in most parts) after the rate of six shillings an acre, or 300 *l.* for the whole; five hundred larches, two feet in height (so as to enable them to resist the long grass) might be planted on each acre for fourteen shillings; hence a plantation of 500,000 larches might be made for 1,000*l.* Now 1,000*l.* improved at compound interest, at the rate of 4 *l. per cent.* would, in sixty years, amount to the sum

of 10,519 *l.*; this is the accumulated loss attending the inclosing and planting 1,000 acres of rocky land in sixty years. The rent of 1,000 acres, at one penny an acre, is 4 *l.* 3 *s.* 4 *d.* a year; in eight years the larches would be out of all danger from sheep, so that the loss of rent ought only to be estimated for eight years; but 4 *l.* 3 *s.* 4 *d.* a year, though improved after the same rate of compound interest, would not amount to 40 *l.* in eight years; say, however, that it would amount to 81 *l.* which is allowing more than twopence an acre for the annual rent of the land, then would the whole expense attending the plantation in sixty years be 10,600 *l.* The amount of 81 *l.* for 52 years, so as to make the whole 60 years, is here omitted, at 4 *l. per cent.* it will amount to 622 *l.* so that the whole expense will be 11,222 *l.* I have here supposed sheep to be shut out of the plantation for eight years. If it should be found that sheep will not crop the larch, and from more than one observation, I have reason to believe they will not,

not, they need not be shut out at all; nor, on districts where nothing but sheep are depastured, need any fence be made. I know the advocates for close planting, instead of 500, would require 5,000 larches for each acre; I am not convinced of the utility of such close planting, except where it is intended to nurse up oaks, or other kinds of wood; but if that mode should be adopted, the thinnings, after twenty years growth, would pay the expense of it. At the expiration of sixty years, suppose that only 250 larches remained on each acre, or that one half had perished, the probable value of them may be thus estimated: From a great many experiments made by myself and collected from others, I find the annual increase in circumference of the larch, at six feet from the ground, to be one inch and one half on an average of several years; and this inference has been drawn from the actual admeasurement of larches in different parts of England and Scotland, and of different ages, from ten years old to fifty.

On

On this supposition, the larches would measure, one with another, ninety inches in circumference, at six feet from the ground. A larch which measures ninety inches, at six feet from the ground, would measure above seventy at twenty feet from the ground; but supposing seventy inches to be the circumference at twenty feet, and the length of the tree to be forty feet, neglecting the remaining top; then will it's solid content be eighty-five cubic feet, and the value of the tree, at ninepence a foot, above three guineas. But as the trees are supposed to be planted in an high, bleak, barren situation, their annual increase may not be so great as is here supposed; instead of being worth, at sixty years after planting, three guineas a piece, admit that they are worth only ten shillings each, then would the whole plantation be worth 125,000*l.*; and deducting the whole expense, 10,600*l.* as before estimated, there would remain a profit of 114,400*l.* The present value of 114,400*l.* to be received sixty years hence, is above

above 10,000*l.* (interest of money at 4*l.* *per cent.*) Ten thousand pounds at 4*l.* *per cent.* purchases an income of 400*l.* a year. By planting, then, a barren estate, of a thousand acres, is improved from 4*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.* to 400*l.* a year, reckoning the value of a reversion as a present certainty. Sixty years is a great part of the life of a man; but it ought to be considered as nothing in the existence of a nation, or even of a family, which is a little nation. The waste lands in this and other counties are a *public treasure in the hands of private persons*; all of them ought to be converted into arable, meadow, or pasture land, which are capable of admitting, with profit, that kind of improvement: And such of them as will not pay for that mode of improvement, ought to be covered with wood; the high parts, and especially the sheltered dells in the high parts, with larch, and the lower with oak, ash, &c. When a spirit of agricultural improvement is fully excited, the individuals to whom such uncultivated lands belong, will be prompted,

prompted, by an attention to their own interest, to forward every judicious plan which may be proposed for rendering them more useful to the proprietors and to the community. Their present application to the summer maintenance of a few miserable sheep ought not to be persevered in, if any other use can be made of them.

Coppices.

In some parts of Westmoreland, considerable portions of land are covered with coppices, consisting principally of oak, ash, alder, birch, and hazel. These underwoods are usually cut down every sixteenth year: The uses to which they are applied are chiefly two—hoops and charcoal. The hoops are sold in the wood at 5 *l.* a thousand; they are generally manufactured in the country, and sent by sea to Liverpool; the charcoal is sent to the iron furnaces in the neighbourhood. The value of a statute acre of coppice-wood, of sixteen years growth, is variable from 10 *l.* to 15 *l.*; and

if

if it consists altogether of oak, it's price may amount to twenty guineas; 6*l.* for the charcoal, and 15*l.* for the bark; it being the custom here to peel the bolls, and all the branches of the oak, which are equal to the thickness of a man's thumb.

It is an extraordinary thing to see any trees left to stand for timber in these underwoods; the high price of bark is a temptation to cut the whole down. Fine saplings, from nine to twelve inches in circumference, at five feet from the ground, and with bark as splendid as polished silver, are felled by the unfeeling proprietor with as little regret as if they were thorns or briers. Of late, indeed, some few owners of underwoods have left standards, and if they consult their interest, the practice will become general. As this is a point denied by many proprietors of coppices, it may be of use to explain the principles on which the observation is founded.

Suppose a statute acre of underwood

to

to be, in the spring of 1794, sixteen years old, and that the whole is then cut down and sold for 14*l.*; this sum will, in sixty-four years (reckoning compound interest at 4 *per cent.*) amount to 172*l.*: In 1810, another fall of underwood, of the same value, will be made; the 14*l.* then arising, improved for forty-eight years, in the same way, will produce 91*l.*: In 1826, another 14*l.* will arise from another fall of the underwood; this sum, improved for thirty-two years, will amount to 49*l.*: In 1842, another fall will produce 14*l.* which, in sixteen years, will become 26*l.*: And, lastly, in 1858, or in sixty-four years from 1794, another fall will produce 14*l.* The amount of the value of the five falls, thus estimated and improved, will be 352*l.* Let us now calculate the profit which would result, in the same time, from the same acre of underwood, if it was managed in a different way. Instead of cutting the whole down in 1794, let us suppose that 150 of the best young oaks are left to stand for

for timber; the then value of these, at 2*d.* a tree, is 25*s.*; this being subducted from 14*l.* the value of the whole coppice, leaves 12*l.* 15*s.* This sum, improved as before, will amount, in sixty-four years, to 156*l.* (shillings and pence in these calculations being neglected.) The next fall in 1810 ought not to be valued at more than 10*l.* as 150 trees, then of thirty-two years growth, will do some injury to the underwood; 10*l.* in forty-eight years will amount to 65*l.*: The next fall in 1826 may be valued at 8*l.* and at that time seventy-five trees should be taken down; these trees will then be forty-eight years old, and worth 15*s.* a tree, or 56*l.* in the whole; this, added to 8*l.* the value of the then underwood, makes 64*l.* which, in thirty-two years, will produce 224*l.* Without estimating the underwood in 1842, and in 1858, at any thing, or the value of the pasturage for thirty-two years, at any thing, let us suppose the seventy-five remaining trees to be cut down in 1858;

being then eighty years old, and that they would, one with another, be worth 4*l.* a piece, or 300*l.* in the whole: The sum of the profits, thus arising, is 745*l.* or more than double the other amount.

It is a general opinion in this, and, I believe, in other countries, that it is more profitable to fell oak wood at fifty or sixty years growth, than to let it stand for navy-timber to eighty or an hundred. According to the price which is now paid for that commodity, either by the Navy-Board or the East-India Company, I believe the opinion to be founded in truth. The following observations contain the reason for this belief.

If profit is considered, every tree of every kind ought to be cut down and sold, when the annual increase in value of the tree, by it's growth, is less than the annual interest of the money it would sell for:—this being admitted, we have only to inquire into the annual increase in the value of oaks of different ages.

In

In the Philosophical Transactions for 1759, there are some useful Tables respecting the growth of trees, by Mr. Marsham; from these Tables, the two following inferences may be drawn: 1. That it is highly profitable to let young thriving oaks, which are not worth above 30*s.* a tree, continue standing. 2. That it is not profitable to let oaks of 80 or 100 years growth, continue standing.

Three oaks, marked in the Tables, N° 8, 11, 12, in April 1743, before they began to shoot, contained eleven and one half feet of wood, and were altogether worth, at eighteen-pence a foot, bark included, 17*s.* 3*d.* The same trees, sixteen years afterwards, contained thirty-four and one half feet, and were worth 2*l.* 11*s.* 9*d.* Now, if 17*s.* 3*d.* had been improved at the rate of 7 *per cent.* at compound interest for sixteen years, it would not have amounted to 2*l.* 11*s.* 9*d.*; and of consequence the proprietor, by letting such oaks stand, improves his property in as

high a degree, as if he put out his money to interest at near seven and a half *per cent.*

Three oaks, N° 2, 3, & 5, in 1743, contained 100¼ feet of timber, and were worth 7*l.* 10*s.* 9*d.* The same trees, sixteen years afterwards, contained 132¼ feet, and were worth 9*l.* 18*s.* 6*d.* Now, 7*l.* 10*s.* 9*d.* the value of the trees in 1743, improved at the low rate of interest of 2*l. per cent.* would in sixteen years amount to a sum exceeding 9*l.* 18*s.* 6*d.* The proprietor, then, by letting such trees stand, does not improve his property at the rate of 2*l. per cent.*

The oak, N° 1. in the third Table, was worth 1*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* in 1757, it gained in one year one foot, or 1*s.* 6*d.* in value; if it had been worth 30*s.* and had gained one foot, there would have been no profit in letting it stand, as the interest of 30*s.* at 5 *per cent.* would have produced 1*s.* 6*d.* in the year; and it is for this reason that I have fixed upon 30*s.* as the value of trees

trees which should be cut down; if they are cut sooner or later, the proprietor will be a loser. It must not be supposed, however, that great precision can attend this observation; since particular soils, or the greater or less thriving condition of the wood, may render it useful to cut down trees before they are worth 30*s*. or to let them stand a while longer. It ought to be remarked also, that large trees sell for more per foot than small ones do, yet the usual increase of price is not a compensation to the proprietor for letting his timber stand to a great age. This may be made out from the following experiment.

On the 27th October 1792, I measured, at six feet from the ground, the circumference of a very fine oak of eighty-two years growth from the time of it's being planted, and found it to be 107 inches; on the same day of the month, in 1793, it measured 108 inches. There is not one oak in fifty (at the age of this) which gains an inch in circumference in one year.

The length of the boll of this tree was about eighteen feet, it contained about eighty-four feet of timber, and was worth, at 3*s.* a foot, 12*l.* 12*s.* It gained in one year very little more than a foot and one half of timber, or 4*s.* 6*d.* in value; but the interest of 12*l.* 12*s.* at 4*l. per cent.* amounts, in one year, to above twice the value of the increase, even of this tree, which is a singularly thriving one.

I have been the more particular on this subject from a public consideration. Many men are alarmed lest our posterity should experience a scarcity of oak timber for the use of the navy; and various means of increasing it's quantity have been recommended with great judgment. In addition to these means, the making a much greater than the ordinary increase of price on timber of a large scantling, might be not improperly submitted to the consideration of those who are concerned in the business. If the Navy-Board would give 8*l.* or 9*l.* a load for timber trees containing

taining 100 cubic feet or upwards, instead of 4*l.* or 5*l.* every man in the kingdom would have a reasonable motive for letting his timber stand till it became of a size fit for the use of the navy; whereas, according to the present price, it is every man's interest to cut it down sooner.

In the neighbourhood of Ambleside, there is found a stratum of gray limestone, which, though it contains a little clay, might be as serviceable as the purest sort for agricultural purposes; but, unfortunately for the improvement of this part of the county, coal is so dear, that very little of this limestone is burned. The lime which is used in the culture of the lands being either fetched from Kendall, or brought up Windermere Lake at a great expense. As there is great plenty of coppice wood in the district here spoken of, it may be useful for the farmers and land-owners to consider, whether the burning of lime with fagots in a flame-kiln, as is practised in Sussex, may not be

a more beneficial application of the underwoods than the converting them into charcoal. Even the spray-wood, here called chats, which is too small to be made into charcoal, and which is now sold for six-pence a cart, or more generally left on the ground, might be made into fagots, and mixed with wood of a larger size, so that no part of the coppice would be lost. In Sussex they use 600 fagots, cut in the winter, and weighing when dry in the spring, thirty-six pounds each, for the burning of 480 Winchester bushels of lime.

May I be permitted to hazard another conjecture respecting the use to which coppices might be applied, without injuring either the quantity or the quality of the charcoal procured from them?— Pit-coal yields by distillation, about a twenty-fourth part of it's weight of a thick tenacious sort of oil resembling tar. All sorts of wood yield a similar oil by the same process; but I do not know whether the oil from wood be of an inferior or of

a superior quality to that from pit-coal. In the ordinary way of making charcoal the whole of this oil is dispersed in the form of smoke; may it not deserve to be inquired, whether this oil might not be saved to advantage? The process which is used in America for extracting tar from the pine-tree, is little different from that by which charcoal is made in England. But whether the quantity of oil which might be obtained from a pit of wood when converted into charcoal, would exceed the expense of procuring it, can only be decided by experiment. The reader may form some guess at the quantity, from the following statement—The black part of guaiacum wood, yields a tenth, the sappy part a thirteenth part of it's weight of thick black oil; sassafras wood, oak, ash, birch, &c. give, by distillation, from a twenty-fourth to a twelfth part of their respective weights of this oil; this difference in quantity, arises from a diversity in the texture, age, and dryness of the woods.

Suppose that a cord of coppice wood would weigh a ton, and that four cords would make one dozen sacks of charcoal, and that wood of this sort would yield a twentieth part of it's weight of oil, then is there dissipated, in making one dozen of charcoal, 448 *lb.* or one ton in five dozen.

ON

PLANTING,

AND

WASTE LANDS.

A

LETTER

TO THE

PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF AGRICULTURE,

DATED LONDON 1807.

MR. PRESIDENT,

I WILL trouble you to communicate to the Board of Agriculture the following Observations on the planting and growth of Larches.

A few years ago, a large tract of land, called Cartmel Fell, was inclosed by Act of Parliament. A portion of it was sold by the commissioners, to defray the necessary expenses. Of this portion, situated within eight miles of my house, I purchased four hundred ninety and nine acres, and having fenced the whole round with a sufficient stone wall, I let it for a sheep pasture for three years; but perceiving that the best rent I could get for the whole did

did not amount to half a crown an acre, I fenced off, in two divisions, 120 acres of the best land; and having built a small farm-house and other conveniences on the lesser division, I have in the two last years planted with larches (where the ground would permit) at six feet distance, the remaining 379 acres.

I ought to mention also, that on certain parts of the land I planted 30,000 Scotch firs, at four feet distance from each other; and at that distance, they occupy a space of eleven acres. Twelve hundred and ten plants, at six feet distance every way from each other, will stand upon an acre; hence 322,500 larches, the number I have planted, will at that distance require 266 acres; and of the whole 379 acres set apart for planting, there remain 102 acres unplanted.

The unplanted part consists of patches of peat moss, of rocks, and moist land not fit for the growth of larches. I might (though at an unprofitable expense) have drained this wet land, or have planted it,

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in it's present state, with birch, alder, poplar, &c.; but I forbore doing either, from a project which I had formed, of reconverting the whole plantation, in ten years time or less, into a sheep pasture. The larches will in less than ten years be quite out of the reach of sheep, and I expect that those who shall be then alive (the chance is against my being so) will see the pasture so much improved, by the shelter which the trees will afford in every direction, and by the augmentation of the soil, which it will have received from the annual rotting of the spontaneous produce, and of the leaves of the trees, that it will be as valuable for sheep as it was before it was planted.

I do not advance this on merely hypothetical grounds. The land called Wansfell, on which I made a plantation of 48,000 larches near Ambleside, and for which I received a gold medal, in 1789, from the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, &c. has been for several years let at a greater rent as a sheep pasture,

pasture, than I could have had for it before I planted it; nor are the trees injured, in the slightest degree, by the sheep. As this was the first effort made in Westmoreland of planting very high ground with larches; and as I was dissuaded from planting there, by the general opinion that no tree would ever arrive, in that situation, at the thickness (as was said) of a knife-haft, I have great pleasure in being able to say that the larches are as thriving as I could wish them to be; thousands of them measuring from fourteen to eighteen inches in circumference, at six feet from the ground. At the same time, and on the same mountain, but apart from the larches, 29,500 Scotch firs were planted; these looked flourishing, and annually made good shoots for six or eight years after planting, they then began to decay, and are now literally speaking all dead. I dare not from this single fact, generally conclude that larches will thrive, in mountainous and exposed situations where Scotch firs will perish. There may

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be other causes for this failure of the firs, besides the height of the situation and the exposure to the west wind, though I have not yet certainly discovered any. I suspect indeed that in some places a solid rock, and in others a thick and impenetrable bed of gravel (composed of fragments of whinstone, quartz, &c. and clay) which run within a few feet of the surface, not only of that plantation, but of the adjoining country, obstructed the descent of the fir roots, and, by keeping them wet, destroyed them; whilst the larches have been hitherto preserved, by their roots running horizontally, and not having yet reached the gravel or the rock. But having noticed the fact, I leave the causes of it to future investigation.

After having experienced such bad success with Scotch firs on an elevated situation, it may be asked, why I ventured to plant 30,000 of them on my new plantation? I did it from a view of sheltering the future pasture, and from an expectation that, if they all died, the land would not

not be wholly lost, but be very much improved by the rotting of their leaves, before it was again depastured by sheep; and if they lived, I knew that their branches, being occasionally cut down in severe seasons, would afford great plenty of excellent food for sheep.

The mountain called Gomershow, on which I have made these plantations, is very rocky, producing, as to the greatest part of it, nothing but strong ling; it's elevation is so great, that it is seen in every direction, at a great distance, rearing it's hemispherical head, above all other mountains in the vicinity of Winandermere. If the larches which are now planted, at six feet distance, quite round the sides and on the top of this mountain, should thrive well, of which, from their present appearance, I entertain the strongest hopes, we may in future become less solicitous about shelter for this hardy tree, and less disposed to plant them closer than six feet apart, than many seem at present to be. If my expectations

tions are disappointed, the failure will not be without it's use, as a warning to others.

About 25,000 of the larches were raised in my garden, the rest were furnished by nursery-men, and were from twelve to twenty-four inches in height. They cost, when laid on the land on which they were to be planted, carriage and package included, 22*s.* a thousand; and I gave the planters 8*s.* a thousand, for putting them carefully into the ground, by pitting them.

As this is a plantation of considerable extent, it may be of use, to those who shall be disposed to engage in similar undertakings, to state the whole expense which can attend it, in the course of sixty years; and to hint the probable profit which may be derived from it in that period. Planters ought to encourage themselves in their pursuits, by considering all future time as present; and indeed such consideration would be a useful principle to all men in the conduct of life,

life, and as it respects both this world and the next.

The whole sum expended in planting 322,500 larches, at 30*s.* a thousand, amounts to 483*l.* 15*s.*; say 483*l.* The fencing the plantation is not, in this estimate, taken into the account, because the land must have been fenced before it could have been let as a sheep pasture; and the relative advantage of planting, instead of pasturing it, is the object under contemplation. If 483*l.* be improved at the compound interest of 5*l. per cent.* for sixty years, it will amount to 9,021*l.* This sum is the loss sustained in sixty years by planting 322,500 larches; but it is not the whole loss. The rent of 379 acres will be lost for ten years; this rent (say 47*l.* at half a crown an acre) being improved for ten years, will amount to 519*l.* and will make the whole loss in sixty years amount to 9,612*l.*

If any one should be of opinion, that the pasture will not, at the expiration of ten years (on account of the space which

will then be occupied by the larches) be worth more than 27*l.* a year, we may add to the preceding sum 9,612*l.* the amount of 20*l.* a year (the supposed diminution in the value of the pasture) improved for fifty years; that amount will be 4,186*l.* and the whole loss in sixty years, by planting 322,500 larches on 379 acres of land, worth half a crown an acre, will be 13,798*l.*

Having thus stated, with sufficient minuteness, the amount of the whole loss which can probably be sustained by this undertaking in sixty years, I might proceed to make a circumstantial estimate of the profit which will probably be derived from it at twenty years hence, when one half of the trees, viz. 161,000 (supposing 500 to have perished) should be cut down; and at forty years hence, when one half of the remainder, viz. 80,000 (supposing another 500 to have perished) should be taken away; and at sixty years hence, when (though another 500 should have perished) there will be

80,000

80,000 trees of sixty years growth, and not more than 302 on an acre to be felled, if the then proprietor should have the heart to do it.

But I forbear entering into a calculation of future profit, from being sensible that a small variation in the hypothesis of average sizes which the trees will attain to in these several assumed periods of their growth, as well as of the prices per foot which they might then be sold for, will make a very great variation in the general result of the profit to be derived from this plantation. The prices of 161,000 trees of twenty years growth, improved for forty years; together with that of 80,000 trees improved for twenty years; being added to that of 80,000 trees of sixty years growth, will, I conjecture, upon the most moderate computation, amount to 150,000*l.* if the commerce of the country, and the price of foreign fir wood, continue for sixty years without diminution.

Leaving this conjecture, as an hint to

my posterity, to be established or refuted by their experience, I will mention a few facts which will not be considered by planters of larches as uninteresting; and I begin with correcting a remark formerly made by myself.

In my "Preliminary Observations to Mr. Pringle's Agricultural View of the County of Westmoreland," I have said, that the annual increase of the larch tree in circumference, at six feet from the ground, is one inch and an half, on an average of several years, and of larches of different ages, from ten years old to fifty. I have measured a great many single trees, since the publication of those Observations in 1793, which tend to confirm what I had then advanced: yet I am now, from more extensive experience, inclined to believe, that plantations of larches, during the first eighteen or twenty years of their growth, do not, if planted so close as at the distance of six feet from each other, increase in circumference, at six feet from the ground, above one inch

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and one quarter, even in low situations; and that on high and bleak mountains they do not annually increase much above half an inch from the first planting.

Forty-five larches were planted in October 1789, on 205 square yards of land, in a low situation near Winandermere; the circumferences of these trees were taken in October 1806, and amounted to 839 inches, which being divided by 45, the number of these trees, gives 18.6 for the average; and that being divided by 17, the number of years growth, gives 1.09, or very little above one inch for the annual increase, from the first planting.

Two different parcels of larches (thirty in each parcel) which were planted on Wansfell, before mentioned, in October 1788, were girted, at six feet from the ground, in October 1806; one of the parcels gave 320 inches in the whole, and the other, in a different part of the plantation, gave 319½ (a singular coincidence); the two together amounted to 639, which divided by 60, gives 10.6 inches for each

tree, and this being divided by 18, the number of years growth, gives 0.58, or very little above half an inch for the annual increase in circumference, from the first planting. From the comparison of these two experiments it may be inferred, that larches in low situations increase in circumference near twice as fast as they do in high ones; but the slower the growth of the tree, the better is the timber it affords at a proper age.

In November 1802, I took, at six feet from the ground, the circumference of seven larches of nineteen years growth, of six of seventeen years growth, and of six of fifteen years growth at Muncaster; the average of the first parcel was 28 inches, of the second 21, and of the third 20. The first had annually increased 1.47, or near an inch and an half; the second, one inch and one-fifth; the third, one inch and three-tenths, or rather more than the second, from it's standing lower on the side of the mountain on which the whole were planted, and thereby enjoying a richer

a richer soil and less exposure to the wind.

Twelve larches at Ulverstone, in the county of Lancaster, of twenty years growth, gave, for the sum of their circumferences at six feet from the ground, 273 inches, or an average of 23, and an average increase from the first planting, of 1.15, or little above one inch a year.

These experiments may be sufficient to shew that larches do not annually increase in circumference at six feet from the ground, after the rate of an inch and an half from the first planting, during the first twenty years of their growth; that many single trees, and even whole plantations, not containing above four hundred on an acre, increase at that or a greater rate from twenty-five, to fifty years of their age, I have more reasons to believe than I will trouble the Board with the account of. In the very interesting "Agricultural View of *Perthshire*, by Dr. *Robertson*," mention is made of larches, which at forty-seven years of age had

 a diameter,

a diameter, at five feet from the ground, of thirty inches, and consequently circumferences of 94.2, or rather more than two inches annual increase from the first planting. In the seventh volume of the Transactions of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, &c. an accurate and detailed account is given of the dimensions of a larch of fifty-four years of age, now growing at *Blair Drummond* near *Stirling*; it's circumference, at six feet from the ground, was, at that age, 78 inches, or near one inch and an half annual increase from the first planting. By an obliging letter from Mr. *Drummond*, the owner of this tree, dated May 1806, I am informed that this larch now measures, at the same height, 88 inches, having in eighteen years only gained an increase of ten inches, or a little more than half an inch annually for the last eighteen years.

But as the ascertainment of the annual increase of circumference does not convey any precise knowledge of the quantity of wood produced, in a given time, by a plantation

a plantation of larches, I ordered the forty-five trees above mentioned to be accurately measured to the height of nine inches in circumference. One of the trees contained above five feet of wood, three others contained above four feet each, five had above three feet each, and the average of the whole was two feet and three-tenth parts of a foot, which, at 10*d.* a foot, is 1*s.* 11*d.* a tree; and for 1,062 trees (the number which would stand upon an acre, at the same distance which the forty-five stand from each other) 101*l.* 15*s.* 6*d.*

This account of above an hundred pounds produced in seventeen years, by an acre of ground planted with larches, cannot but afford great encouragement to the planters of that tree. Yet, that they may not deceive themselves with golden dreams of future profit, they ought to be put in mind, that the land here spoken of, was good, and that in very few situations is there a vent for any considerable quantity of larches of that age,

age, at tenpence a foot, or even at any price.

Mr. Curwen had a plantation of larches, at Ewanrigg on the coast of Cumberland; it consisted of moist clay land ill adapted to the growth of larches; and the trees were moreover exposed to the sea air; but from these circumstances I thought it was fitted to afford me that sort of knowledge which I wanted; for I was desirous of not making too favourable an estimate in this general inquiry. The trees stood on three roods of land, they were in number 596, their age was twenty-four years; when in November 1802, at my request, Mr. Curwen kindly directed one of his agents to measure them with accuracy. The solid contents of the whole amounted to 1,490 feet; an acre would have contained 794 trees and 1,986 feet; and being worth, at one shilling a foot, 99*l.* 6*s.* and at tenpence a foot it would have been worth 82*l.* 15*s.*

It has been shewn, that an acre of larches near Winandermere was worth, at

seventeen years growth, 101 *l.* 15*s.* 6*d.* whilst an acre at Ewanrigg, of twenty-four years growth, does not amount to more than 82*l.* 15*s.* It may indeed be remarked, that on the acre of seventeen years growth 1,062 trees were supposed to be standing, and that only 794 were supposed to stand on that of twenty-four years; but if, by the rule of proportion, we calculate what would have been the value of 1,062 trees instead of 794, at 10*d.* per foot, we shall find it to be 110*l.* 13*s.* which is not 10*l.* more per acre, at twenty-four years growth on the coast of Cumberland, than at seventeen years growth on the banks of Winandermere. This comparison gives satisfactory information as to the different productiveness of a plantation of larches, according as it's soil and situation are more or less favourable for their growth.

With respect to the annual increase in value of an acre of larches, in a given situation and of a given age, the following experiment will throw some light on the subject.

subject. The trees at Ewanrigg were again measured in November 1805; they then contained 1,609 feet; an acre could have contained 2,143 feet, and would have gained 157 feet in three years, or 52 feet annually, from the age of twenty-four to the age of twenty-seven: larch wood at the age of twenty-seven years may very reasonably be esteemed worth 1*s.* 3*d.* a foot; hence an acre of land, when planted with larches, pays annually, from twenty-four to twenty-seven years growth, a rent, by the increase of the wood, of 3*l.* 5*s.*: What rent an acre of land would pay, when the larches were forty, fifty, or sixty years old, cannot be accurately known, except by an actual admeasurement; but I have some reason for guessing that it would, at fifty years from the first planting, pay a rent of not less than 15*l.* a year.

There is a great quantity of land both in Great Britain and Ireland, of very little value in it's present state, and which cannot be converted, with profit to the undertaker,

undertaker, either into arable or good pasture land; but which being planted with larches, would immediately pay a rent of above thirty shillings a year. This assertion requires some illustration.

It has been observed that an acre of larches, at twenty-four years growth, on but indifferent land, is worth 99*l.* 6*s.* say 100*l.* Now the *present* value of 100*l.* to be received 24 years hence is 31*l.* which being lent at legal interest, will produce thirty-one shillings a year, and that may, correctly speaking, be considered as the rent to which an acre of land is immediately raised by planting it with 794, say 1,000 larches, at an expense of only thirty shillings.

I have entered into these details, principally with a view of animating the proprietors of large portions of waste land (for small portions are fenced at too great an expense) to benefit themselves or their posterity, and to promote the public welfare by planting them with larches. One would wish, no doubt, on the public account,

account, to plant oaks instead of larches; and in some sheltered spots this may perhaps be done, even in high situations, with private emolument; but my experience does not teach me to recommend the planting of land, so situated, with any sort of tree except with larches.

Sixteen years ago, I planted (at three feet distance) on a mountain near Ambleside, above 200,000 strong, four years old, transplanted oaks, and many thousand ashes, beeches, elms, and poplars. The oaks are most of them alive, with stems as thick as a man's wrist (hundreds of which have been gnawn asunder in hard winters by mice) but resemble mere shrubs; the summer shoots having been in general destroyed by the frost in winter. The plantation, consisting of above sixty acres, will never, I am of opinion, make what it was intended for, a good oak coppice. Five years ago I planted a great many larches, from twelve to sixteen inches in height, among the stunted oaks, with a view of nursing them; the larches thrive very

very well; but if profit is respected, they cannot be cut down to make room for the oaks. All the other sorts of trees have disappeared. This indeed I might have foreseen, had I properly considered that, though the sides of our high mountains are almost every where adorned, to a certain altitude, with coppices, the summits of them are universally destitute of wood, except a chance hawthorn or mountain-ash.

It would be a curious and perhaps an useful investigation (for every fact in natural history is a connecting link in the chain of general science) to ascertain the utmost diminution of weight, which green wood of every sort experiences in becoming dry; and as I happen to have made an observation of this kind, respecting the top of a young larch, I will take the liberty to mention it, unimportant as it may appear to be. A larch of ten years growth was blown aside in May 1800. I took the top of it for a walking-stick, and having cut off the side shoots, weighed it imme-

immediately; it's weight was twenty-four ounces; in one month, without exposure either to the rain or sun, it had lost six ounces; and in eight months it had lost fifteen ounces, and suffered no further diminution of weight; from being flexible and soft, it was become stiff and hard. Some gunpowder-makers use wild juniper and other hard woods for making a particular sort of charcoal; if the prunings and thinnings of larch plantations would answer the purpose, a great bulk of them might be carried at a small expense, from the loss of weight they experience in becoming dry.

There is another mode of turning a plantation of larches to profit, which may be properly mentioned in this place, as in some situations it may be preferable to that of reconverting the land into a pasture for sheep; it consists in cutting down the whole at twenty or thirty years growth, and replanting the ground. A reasonable doubt, however, may arise, whether the same land will yield a second crop of larches,

larches, as valuable as the first. But supposing experience to prove this doubt to be ill founded, and five hundred acres to be planted with larches at six or eight feet distance, after twenty-five years let twenty acres be cut down, and the land be replanted; when the whole is thus gone over, the first replanted part will be twenty-five years old, and be ready for the axe; and all the other parts will be ready in succession, twenty acres every year, for ever; affording a rent, after the first twenty-five years, of 1,500 *l.* a year from 500 acres of waste land. This rent is founded on the supposition of an acre of larches of twenty-five years growth being worth only 75 *l.* though there is good reason to conjecture that it will be worth more; and a certainty that for the first twenty-five annual falls, it's value will be increasing, on account of the increasing age of the wood.

In addition to what I have said on the subject of planting Larches, I will risk a few

few Observations on the improvement of Waste Lands. I wish to give the Board of Agriculture a pledge of my respect; and it is not probable that I shall in future so far engage in agricultural pursuits, as to have an opportunity of transmitting to the Board any communication deserving it's attention.

The improvement of waste lands has, from the first establishment of the Board, very properly engaged it's notice; and no object can better merit the continuance of it's care.

Cato is reported to have esteemed him to be the best husbandman, who annually procured the most food for cattle; and with equal justice he may be esteemed the best statesman, who annually procures the most food for man.

He, in a certain respect, is the best statesman, who can resist the unjust aggression of an enemy with the greatest strength; now the stable strength of every nation depends ultimately on the number of it's inhabitants, other circumstances

being the same; and the number of inhabitants in every country depends primarily on the facility of maintaining a family. All men of all ranks (a few libertines excepted) would marry at an early age, and procreate children for the support of the state, if they had the means of rearing, and of suitably educating their offspring, according to their respective conditions. The means required for these purposes by the most numerous class of the people, by the *proletarii* of every country, are not many, and in all well constituted governments they ought to be easily attainable; food, clothing, and lodging, are the chief.

It is a truth which need not be proved, for it cannot be questioned, that the number of inhabitants cannot, in any country, arise, and permanently subsist, above the level of the food provided for them; for, when there is no food, they must die, or emigrate. Food may be procured for the inhabitants of a country, either by fetching it from foreign markets, or by producing

it at home. This latter, when possible, is the most certain, if it be not also the cheapest mode of procuring it. The fetching food from foreign markets, then only becomes necessary in a country when the produce of the soil, though cultivated to it's utmost extent, is inadequate to the sustenance of the people. But this is at present very far from being the case, in any part of the British European empire.

I am not acquainted with any *data*, from which the quantity of waste land in Great Britain and Ireland can be ascertained, with any thing like geometrical accuracy. To make this accurate ascertainment is an object, I fear, much beyond the finances of the Board; it may properly claim the interposition of the Legislature. One mode of doing it would be to pass an Act of Parliament, directing the magistrates, or other proper persons, in every county, to make a return by actual admeasurement, of all the commons, stinted pastures, &c. in each parish of every county in the kingdom; and it would

would be still better, if a return of the number of acres of arable and grass land in each parish could be made to accompany that of the waste lands. The expense of making such a survey might either be paid out of the public grants or by county rates, as to the wisdom of the legislature might seem fit. Some men may esteem the waste land to be a third, others a fifth part of the whole; but all, who have much considered the subject, will agree in thinking, that the present state of the continent of Europe calls for our utmost exertions in rendering all our lands as productive as possible. There are two ways of doing this; one consists in the improvement of waste lands; the other in making our field husbandry approach to the neatness, and consequent productiveness, of a garden culture.

Great quantities of waste lands, and of commons appurtenant to cultivated lands, and of open fields, have for some years past been annually inclosed by Acts of Parliament; and the lands thus brought

into severalty have been so improved by planting in some places, and by mending the pasturage in others, and by converting much into tillage which had never been ploughed before, that the whole kingdom is in these respects, as well as in it's commercial relations, far more flourishing than it was forty years ago. I indeed am not one of those who consider the increased luxury of the country as a public benefit, or as any proper criterion of public strength and prosperity; yet, when I see the great bulk of the people (I speak not of the vicious refuse of an overgrown capital) to be better fed, better clothed, better lodged, and better educated, than the same class either ever was, or now is in any other part of the world, I cannot but look upon the situation of this country to be extremely prosperous.

The agricultural improvements which have hitherto taken place amongst us, have been made by the expenditure of private wealth; and there is not, probably, any species of trade or of mercantile specula-

speculation, in which money can be so securely and so profitably employed by individuals, as in the judicious cultivation of waste lands. Yet, notwithstanding this lucrative spur to private enterprise, the country will not speedily be brought to that perfection of cultivation of which it is capable, unless individual efforts are aided and accelerated by public wisdom and munificence. I boast not of any particular patriotism, but I would willingly pay my share of twenty or thirty millions of public money, to be appropriated by the legislature to the agricultural improvement of Great Britain and Ireland. This appears to me to be an object of far nearer concern to our independence as a nation (and without independence what shall we become?) than any extension of commerce, or acquisition of distant territory, ever can be.

I am not ignorant that our commerce is the parent of our national opulence; and that our opulence, rather than the number of our people, is the present sinew of our

national strength. But should commerce ever desert us, as it has deserted all other countries in which it once flourished, I am anxious that we should still be able to maintain our station as a free people, among the despotic powers of Europe. It would be far better for us, to be a *free* nation of labouring *peasants*, than a nation of *gentlemen*, wearing chains of slavery gilt by the gold of commerce.

An improved agriculture is preparatory to and productive of an increase of population. The time I hope will come, when an unproductive acre of land will not be found in either of these our *fortunate Islands*; and when that time shall fully come, we shall have food within ourselves, for the annual sustenance of thirty millions of people at the least; and with a population of thirty millions, what power in Europe, what combination of powers, will dare to attempt our subjugation?

It has been frequently remarked, that we have not of late years grown corn enough

enough for our own consumption, though fifty years ago we had a copious exportation of it. Unless our waste lands are extensively brought into cultivation, the deficiency between our growth and our consumption of corn will annually increase; for the causes of this deficiency are not likely either to continue stationary or to become lessened. These causes are principally three: the increase in the number of the people; the increase in the consumption of butcher's meat, by which much arable land is converted into grazing land; and the increase in the number of horses kept for war, for husbandry and conveyance of goods, and for pleasure. I consider this last cause (the number of horses) to be the most important of the three, and equal perhaps to the other two. We have no means of knowing the number of horses which were kept in Great Britain forty years ago; but supposing that only one hundred thousand more horses (about an eleventh part of what now pay the duty) are kept at present, than were kept

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in the year 1766, this additional number will consume in corn and hay, the produce of a quantity of land which, if cropped with bread corn, would supply bread to a million, if not to a million and an half of men, for a whole year. This cause of the deficiency of our bread corn will continue to increase, not only with the increase of our luxury, in the use of carriage and saddle horses, but with the increase also of our husbandry, and of our trade foreign and domestic, unless the use of oxen for draught should become more common than it ever has been in this country, or canals should become general.

The Hebrew kings were forbidden by their law to multiply to themselves horses. Whatever other reasons there were for that prohibition, at that time, in that country, one is obvious: the people were numerous, and the territory was small. Now, a territory of a given extent will sustain (under similar circumstances) the greatest number of people, when it keeps the least number of horses, unless the flesh of the horse

horse should, like that of the ox, be used, as it is said to be by the Tartars, for food.

I have been lately engaged in improving about two hundred acres of waste land, situated at Kelleth, in the parish of Orton in Westmoreland. The mode I used in making this improvement does not materially differ from what has been so repeatedly detailed in books of agriculture, that I think it quite unnecessary to particularize it here. It in general consisted in paring, burning, ploughing, liming, and sowing with turnips, and afterwards with grass seeds natural and artificial, with or without a crop of oats; though I prefer the seeds being sown without grain of any kind. The land was wholly covered with long ling, and could not be let for more than eighteen pence an acre. Some of it is now let for a guinea, and all of it might be let for fifteen shillings an acre. The whole expenditure has not exceeded 8 *l.* an acre; so that the profit is obvious.

Lime seems to be essential to the improvement of this sort of land. But as there

there are thousands of acres of ling land, situated on the sides and tops of hills, where no lime is to be had in the neighbourhood, and whither, if it were to be had, it could not be carried, except on the backs of horses or asses at an enormous expense, might it not be proper to draw men's attention to the subject, by offering a premium for the improvement of land so situated, without the use of lime? Would refuse slate metal, of which there are millions upon millions of tons, not only in Westmoreland, but in Wales, Cornwall, &c. answer (when ground or stamped to a coarse powder) the purpose of extirpating the ling? Would not volcanic ashes, decayed leaves, decomposed schist, and the shiver of all other argillaceous and silicious stone, answer the same end? Ling and fern growing on the sides of mountains, may be destroyed by making the water, which in wet weather descends down them in little cascades, flow over them: this may in a great many places be easily effected, and in a very few years

years the finest pasturage will be produced by this species of irrigation. In mountainous countries it may almost every where be seen, that patches of ground, over which water has occasionally flowed, afford a fine pile of grass, though ling and fern are on every side of them. It has been long a practice to burn ling as it stands, in dry weather, at any time of the year (though I believe the practice is prohibited in Scotland, during the breeding season of the moor game) and to leave the ground to grass over of itself. This practice may be much improved by sowing, among the ashes of the burnt ling, hay-seed, with white clover and rib grass, and brush-harrowing them, where the surface will permit. An autumnal burning, when the ling is in full flower, is best for destroying the ling, but a vernal burning is the best, if seeds are to be sown; for during the summer they will vegetate, and establish their roots so as not to be destroyed by the cold in winter.

I have

I have troubled the Board with these remarks, from a warm attachment to the liberty and the prosperity of the country. It's liberty is menaced by France, and it's prosperity has, in my time, been twice assailed by the armed neutralities of other powers; but if we will in earnest set about improving our land to the utmost, as the most efficacious mean of increasing our population, we may long continue, under God's good providence, to be one of the strongest, as we unquestionably are one of the most enlightened and industrious, and, as I really believe (though there is great room for amendment) we are, one of the most *beneficent*, *moral*, and *religious* nations in the world.

R. LANDAFF.

London, March 1807.

LETTER

TO

MR. WEAL.

LETTER

TO

MR. WEAL,

(PRIVATE SECRETARY TO LORD SHEFFIELD)

On his having sent the Author his PROSPECTUS, and at the same time expressed a wish to receive Information respecting any of its Objects.—Sept. 20, 1808.

SIR,

I HAVE received and perused with attention your Prospectus of an intended Work on IRON and STEEL. I am perfectly persuaded of the utility of such a work, both as it respects the advancement of mineralogical knowledge, and the promotion of our manufacturing and commercial interests. It appears to me to be a work of such magnitude, that a whole life might be well employed in preparing it; and of such difficulty, that it cannot fail

fail to immortalize, when completed in a proper manner, the author who has courage to undertake it.

I heartily wish it were in my power to assist you in this arduous attempt, but chemical studies (though I still feel, at times, an hankering after them) have long ceased to engage my attention. When I was in my diocese in 1807, I met with a very intelligent iron-master, and requested him to procure for me, as a mere matter of curiosity, an account of the quantity of Iron annually made within the diocese of Landaff, and of the quantity of coal consumed in the making of it.

From his account, it appears that in one year (1806) forty-four furnaces and forges within the diocese of Landaff made 73,580 tons of pigs, 35,880 tons of bars, and consumed 596,015 tons of coal. There are moreover within the diocese twenty-five forges, mills, and tin works, not estimated as coke or pitcoal establishments; but what quantity of coal is

annually consumed in these works, my correspondent could not ascertain. If this little information can be of use to you, in any part of your work, it may, I believe, be relied on as accurate.—Perhaps it may be of service to you to mention a few treatises, written by foreigners, on the subject of your work, though it is probable that you may have seen these, and many others, of more recent date, which I have never met with.—Reaumur's celebrated work, entitled, "L'Art de convertir le Fer forgé, en acier, et l'Art d'adoucir le Fer fondu," was published at Paris 1722.—"Baron Swedenborg's Opera Philosophica et Mineralia," were published in 1734.—"Voyages Metallurgiques, ou Recherches et Observations sur des mines et forges de Fer, la fabrication de l'acier, &c." were published at Lyons in 1774, and in this work there is the most extensive account of these matters, that I have ever met with.—Elementa Metallurgiæ, by Wallerius, Holmire 1767, the

the first chapter of the third part of which work is entitled, "De ferri excoctione, præparatione, et malleatione;" and the first chapter of the fourth part, is entitled, "De præparatione Chalybis:" Both of these chapters are treated with great minuteness, for which the author apologizes in the following terms—*Prolixior si fuerim circa excoctiones, et præparationes Ferri, hoc tribuendum partim amori Patriæ (Sweden) quum mullii majori copia, æquali et bonitate atque perfectione elaboratur, quam in monticularibus nostris regionibus; partim, defectui solidioris cognitionis, quo, circa Ferri præparationes, laboramus.*—If this deficiency of skill in manufacturing Iron, of which Wallerius here complains, has within the last forty years been removed, it might be of use to be accurately acquainted with the processes used in Sweden. Indeed as the Swedish Iron is now, and has ever been, fitter for certain purposes, than our own, I have long thought that some of our intelligent iron-

masters ought to examine with great care on the spot—*Whether the superiority of the Swedish over British Iron, was attributable to the quality of the ore, or to the mode of fluxing it.*

I am, with sincere wishes for the success of your project,

Sir,

Your faithful Servant,

R. LANDAFF.

THE question, with which I have here concluded my Letter to Mr. *Weal*, is certainly capable of a decision, and it is important to the interests of commerce, that it should be decided with accuracy. *Wallerius*, before mentioned, says—*optimus præparari potest chalybs imprimis a mineris hæmatiticis, cum minera martis alba, stahlstein* (steelstone) *vocata admistis.*

In the 2d volume of the English translation of *Bergman's* Essays, p. 230, there is a Dissertation on the white ores of iron, in

in which the Author says—"*It is well known to the skilful in those matters, how excellent the steel is, which is produced by the white ores; though that the foundation of this excellence is an admixture of manganese, has heretofore been unknown.*"

Now as it appears, from the testimony of these two great Authors, that the white iron ores are greatly serviceable in the preparation of steel, surely they ought to be carefully sought for in every part of Great Britain, and especially in the neighbourhood of hæmatitical ores, such as abound near Ulverstone in Lancashire.

About three years ago, I discovered at Blea Tarn, near Langdale Pikes in Westmoreland, what I esteem a white iron ore. It was brought to me by a labourer, whom I had employed in planting larches on some high and very rocky land, with a previous direction to bring me a piece of any white rock he chanced to meet with, that I might see if I could discover a limestone. The piece he brought to me

me resembled a calcarious spar; it's specific gravity was 2.7, it effervesced violently in acids, but in the fire it was changed into a black spongy substance, which did not fall into quick-lime upon the effusion of water, though the water became covered with a calcarious pellicle.

Little attention has been given by the government of this country to the improvement of mining and of metallurgy, since the reign of Queen Elizabeth, when it is said there were 4,000 workmen in the vicinity of Keswick; though all foreigners allow that our mountains abound as much in metals, and of as good a quality, as any either in *Germany* or *Sweden*. A mineralogical college should be instituted; and skilful men should be sent out, at the public expense, to collect, from every quarter, all that is at present known on the subject, that we might at length be enabled to solve, with certainty, a most important problem—*What is the cheapest method*

method of extracting from a given quantity of every given species of ore, the greatest possible quantity of metal?

The time will undoubtedly come, when all metalliferous mountains, resembling Skiddaw, will be properly explored. But the time may perhaps never arrive, when another Sir Jacob Downing's estate shall be at the disposal of the University of Cambridge.

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